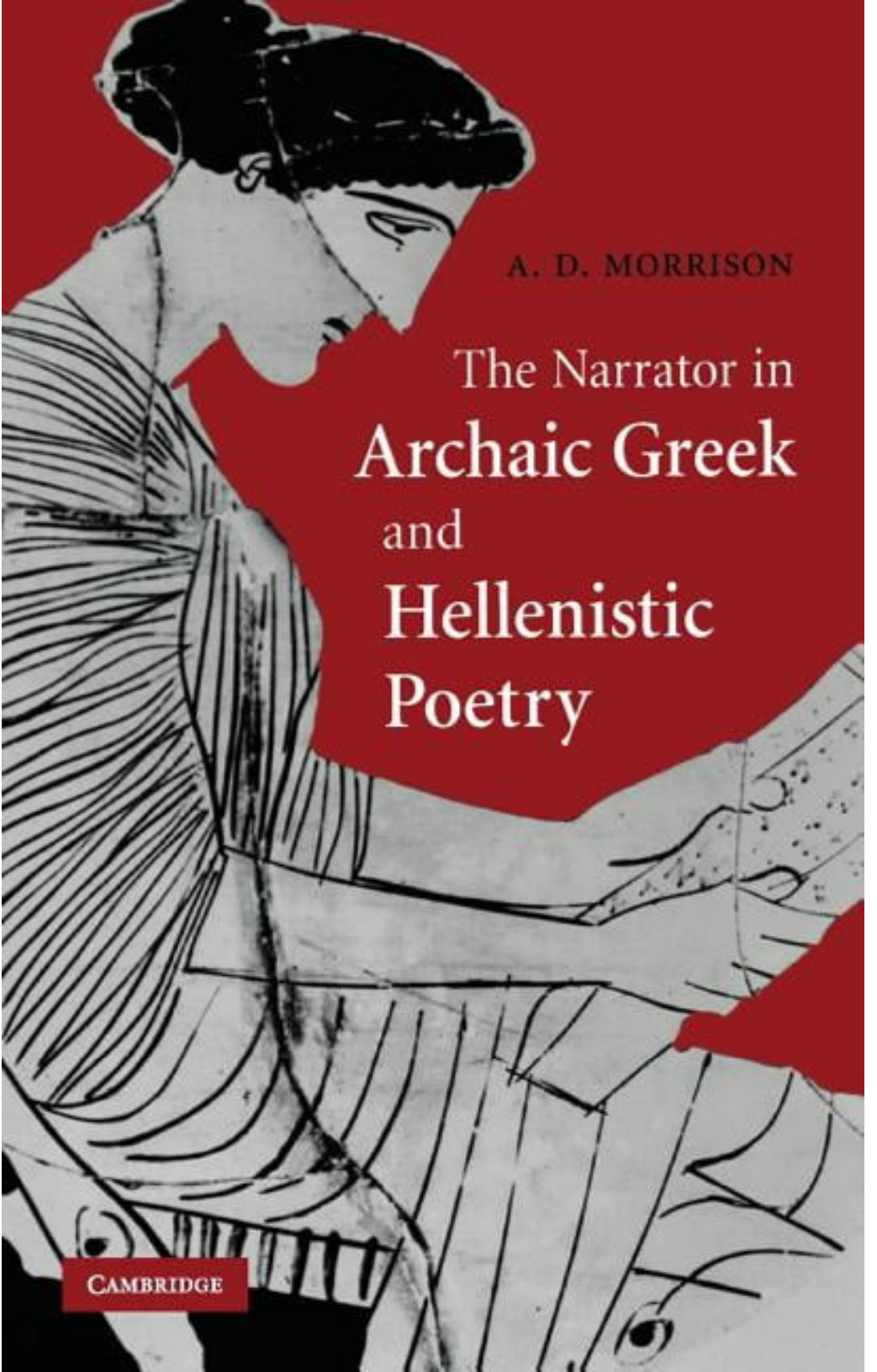
A. D. MORRISON
The Narrator in
Archaic Greek
and
Hellenistic
Poetry
CAMBRIDGE

THE NARRATOR IN ARCHAIC GREEK AND HELLENISTIC POETRY

This book re-examines the relationship of Hellenistic poetry to Archaic poetry. It demonstrates how Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius develop their primary narrators or main narrative voices – a central feature of their poetic manner – by exploiting and adapting models from a wide range of Archaic poets and genres, including Homer, Hesiod, the *Homeric Hymns*, Pindar, Sappho, Archaic *iambos* and early elegy. It goes beyond previous work by bringing together a close study of the Hellenistic remaking of the poetic forms of the past with the first comprehensive examination of the primary narrators of the major poems and fragments of Archaic and Hellenistic poetry. Building on narratological approaches to literary texts, it explores the ways in which Archaic poets create their narrators and develop personas across their different works. The Hellenistic engagement with these Archaic personas, and the techniques for creating them, is in part a way of saving Archaic poetic voices for the very different Hellenistic world. But, as this study shows, poets such as Pindar and Hesiod provided an invaluable narrative 'pattern book' for Hellenistic poets to adapt and experiment with.

A. D. MORRISON is Lecturer in Classics at the University of Manchester, having studied at Oxford and London. His publications include *Performances and Audiences in Pindar's Sicilian Victory Odes* (2007) and, co-edited with R. Morello, *Ancient Letters: Classical and Late Antique Epistolography* (2007).

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A. D. MORRISON
University of Manchester

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For Gioia

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Preface

I have a number of people to thank for their help in the production of this book. First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Herwig Maehler, Richard Janko and Alan Griffiths, for their help, guidance and advice throughout my time at UCL. In particular I would like to thank Alan, who was my principal supervisor for three years, for his patient and helpful criticism of my ideas about Hellenistic poetry, and his sage advice. I would also like to thank Angus Bowie, who first taught me about Greek poetry (and much else besides), and Paul Fentem, who first set me on the happy road which led to Pindar and Callimachus.

I would like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Board of the British Academy for providing me with a Postgraduate Studentship which enabled me to carry out the thesis which eventually gave rise to this book, and to all my colleagues in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at Manchester for giving me the chance to teach and finish first my thesis and now this book in such a friendly and stimulating environment.

From my time in London there are various people to whom I am very grateful for a variety of things – five (then) fellow UCL Ph.D. students, Andrew Bevan, Leighton Pugh, Marielle Sutherland, Will Broadhead and Yumna Khan, as well as Matthew Entwistle, Anna Pearce and, of course, Eric Blaum. Thanks also to my Ph.D. examiners Richard Hunter and Chris Carey for extremely insightful and perceptive comments on the thesis. Richard Hunter first commended an earlier version of the book to the Press, for which I am also very grateful. The anonymous readers for the Press, who improved this book immeasurably, also deserve my thanks, as do Jo Breeze, Sarah Parker and Michael Sharp at the Press, and my hawk-eyed copy editor, Iveta Adams, who saved me from many errors. Thanks too to *BICS* and its editors for allowing me to adapt parts of my article 'Sexual ambiguity and the identity of the narrator in Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena*' in this book.

My greatest thanks go to my wife, Gioia, to whom this book is dedicated, and without whom it would not have been possible.

Translations are my own except where indicated (note that those from Philodemus' *On Poems* are taken from Janko's edition). I have tried where possible to reproduce the word order of the Greek (and in some cases Latin) in my translations, which are generally literal (and never of any literary merit). I have also attempted (where possible) to reflect the line divisions of the original in my translations.

Abbreviations

I have used standard abbreviations, but the following list may be helpful.

Works of Reference:

LSJ	Liddell, H. G., Scott, R., Stuart Jones, H., Mackenzie, R. (eds.) *A Greek–English Lexicon* (9th edn., with a revised supplement, Oxford 1996).
Montanari	Montanari, F. (ed.) *Vocabolario della lingua greca* (Turin 1995).
OCD[3]	Spawforth, A., Hornblower, S. (eds.) *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edn., Oxford 1996).
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1893–).

Editions of ancient texts or collections of fragments:

Adler	Adler, A. (ed.) *Suidae lexicon* (Stuttgart 1967–71).
Coll.Alex.	Powell, J. U. (ed.) *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925).
Consbruch	Consbruch, M. (ed.) *Hephaestionis enchiridion* (Leipzig 1906).
D.–K.	Diels, H., Kranz, W. (eds.) *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (6th edn., Berlin 1951).
Ebert	Ebert, J. (ed.) *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* (Berlin 1972).
EGF	Davies, M. (ed.) *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (Göttingen 1988).
FGrHist	Jacoby, F. (ed.) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin 1923–30, Leiden 1940–58).
Heitsch	Heitsch, E. (ed.) *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* (2 vols., Göttingen 1961–4).

Janko	Fragments of Heracleodorus in Janko 2000 (see bibliography).
K.	Koechly, A. (ed.) *Manethonis Apotelesmaticorum libri sex* (Leipzig 1858).
M.–W.	Merkelbach, R., West, M. (eds.) *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford 1967).
Pack²	Pack, R. A. (ed.) *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt* (2nd edn., Michigan 1965).
PEG	Bernabé, A. (ed.) *Poetae epici Graeci* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1996).
Pf.	Pfeiffer 1949–53 (see bibliography).
L.–P.	Lobel, E., Page, D. (eds.) *Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta* (Oxford 1955).
PMG	Page, D. (ed.) *Poetae melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962).
PMGF	Davies, M. (ed.) *Poetarum melicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (Oxford 1991).
SH	Lloyd-Jones, H., Parsons, P. (eds.) *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin and New York 1983).
SLG	Page, D. (ed.) *Supplementum lyricis Graecis* (Oxford 1974).
S.–M.	Snell, B., Maehler, H. *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* (vol. I Leipzig 1987, vol. II Leipzig 1989).
V.	Voigt, E. V. (ed.) *Sappho et Alcaeus: fragmenta* (Amsterdam 1971).
Wendel	Wendel, C. (ed.) *Scholia in Theocritum vetera* (Leipzig 1914).

Fragments of Archaic lyric are cited according to the numbering of Voigt (Sappho and Alcaeus), *PMG* or *SLG*, unless otherwise indicated. Fragments of Archaic elegy and *iambos* are cited according to the numbering of West 1989–92. Fragments of Callimachus are cited according to the numbering of Pfeiffer 1949–53, except for the *Hecale* (from Hollis 1990). The provenance of all other fragments is indicated.

The abbreviations of ancient authors, texts follow LSJ (Lewis, C. T., Short, C. (eds.) *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1879) for Latin authors, texts), except for Callimachus, whose *Hymns* I refer to as *H.* 1 etc. (hence *h.Ap.* denotes the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, following LSJ, *H.* 2 Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*). The abbreviations of journals follow *L'Année Philologique*, with the obvious anglicising modifications (e.g. *TAPA* instead of *TAPhA*).

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

OUTLINE AND FOCUS

The subject of this book is the relationship between the Greek poetry of the Archaic and Hellenistic periods. In particular, I examine the ways in which the three major extant Hellenistic poets (Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius of Rhodes) use Archaic models to construct their primary narrators.[1] The Archaic models I focus on are Archaic poets from the eighth to the fifth centuries BC,[2] including Homer, Hesiod, the *Homeric Hymns*, Pindar and Bacchylides, as well as the fragmentary remains of Archaic epic, *iambos*, elegy and lyric (both 'choral' and 'monodic'). My scope is therefore large – I cover the great majority of primary narrators in Greek poetry (outside drama) from the eighth to the third centuries BC. I hope, therefore, that this book will be useful to those interested in any of the primary narrators of Greek poetry in this period.

The explicit foregrounding and development of primary narrators is much more common in Archaic lyric, for example, than in Archaic epic. The Homeric epics make prominent use of direct speech, and generally eschew the presentation of an intrusive narrator who catches the attention of the reader or audience, by largely avoiding such things as emotional and evaluative language on the part of the primary narrator.[3] Hence I concentrate on examining the influence of non-epic Archaic narrators on Hellenistic narrators. Nevertheless, the narrators in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns* and fragments of Archaic epic provide important material for comparison with the more intrusive narrators of non-epic Archaic poetry, and were themselves an important part of the poetic inheritance of the Hellenistic poets.

[1] The primary narrator is the 'outer speaker' in a given poem. Cf. Hutchinson 2001: x and below pp. 27–35.

[2] The latest poets whom I treat are Bacchylides and Pindar who are still composing in the middle of the fifth century, and I use 'Archaic' as a convenient shorthand to refer to them and all earlier Greek poets.

[3] Cf. Griffin 1986, Richardson 1990: 158–66 and below pp. 90–2.

Because this project concerns primary narrators, I do not deal with Hellenistic or Archaic texts of a dramatic nature, which have no primary narrator, nor with further embedded secondary narrators within the narrative of the primary narrator. Nor do I treat prose texts in either period. My focus is the relationship between the narrative poetic texts of both periods.

The project is structured as follows: in this introductory chapter I survey different approaches to the relationship between Archaic and Hellenistic poetry, and place my work in the context of the study of Hellenistic poetic manner, as it adapts and engages with the manner of different Archaic poets. I indicate some of the reasons why the Hellenistic poets chose to make use of a wide range of Archaic texts and genres. I also emphasise the importance of the study of narrator and voice to this consideration of poetic manner, and its centrality to the criticism of Hellenistic poetry. I go on to consider differences between Archaic and Hellenistic conceptions of genre, and make clear my reservations about the usefulness of the concept of 'crossing of genres' to a comparative study of Archaic and Hellenistic narrative, before considering to what degree the modification of Archaic poetic voices in the Hellenistic period, and the corresponding experimentation with genre, is related to Hellenistic views of the aesthetics of Aristotle and other critics. Finally in this section I outline the narratological terminology and approach which I employ, and illustrate some of the advantages and difficulties of such an approach. I go on in chapter 2 to survey the main features of Archaic narrators and the ways in which these personas are constructed, after re-examining recent views of the differences between Archaic and Hellenistic poetry in terms of their performance conditions and a shift from songs to books. This chapter is also meant partly as an introduction to the study of Archaic primary narrators, and I hope it will be useful in these terms too. Principal features which I treat include the ways in which Archaic poets draw attention to the presence of their narrating voices, the ways they use indications of a 'life' outside their poems and their basic ability to tell stories, the ways they develop personas across their different works, and the manner in which they create effects such as the impression that they are composing a song on the spot. In the three following chapters I provide a systematic and thorough examination of the primary narrators in Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius, paying particular attention to the ways in which they adapt features such as those listed above for Archaic poetic narrators. How does Callimachus, for example, take up or respond to the earlier creations of a persona or personas across the corpus of a poet's work? How do the personas of his different works resemble or differ from one another? In this way I focus in turn on

the *Hymns*, *Aetia* and *Iambi* of Callimachus, considering both the individual poems in themselves (e.g. the *Hymn to Zeus* or the *Hymn to Apollo*) and how their primary narrators function and adapt/exploit Archaic models, and also how collections of poems (e.g. the *Hymns*) develop Callimachean narrative voices across the collection. In the chapter on Theocritus I also study a wide range of individual poems and their primary narrators, though the nature of the Theocritean corpus means it makes sense to adopt a more thematic structure. Hence I examine groups of Theocritean poems from various points of view, such as the relationship between the primary narrator and historical author which they develop or imply, their use of indications of an extra-poetic life for the narrator, the experimentation with narratorial frames and points of view, the self-ironising of various Theocritean primary narrators, and the generic shifts which we see in some Theocritean *Idylls*. In each section I focus again on the question of how Theocritus is developing, adapting and exploiting Archaic narratorial models. The situation is rather simpler for Apollonius, as there is only one primary narrator in the *Argonautica*, but I sketch out the main features of the Argonautic narrator, his relationship with the Muses, and in particular how this is deployed as part of a type of ongoing narrative about the narrator himself, progressing from confidence to crisis as the epic progresses (and in some ways reflecting the travails of the Argonauts themselves). Here too I examine the adaptation of Archaic models for features of Apollonius' narrator such as his use of emotional or evaluative language. The final chapter surveys the approaches of the Hellenistic poets to their models, and draws out the implications for views of their interrelationship, aesthetic allegiances and broader characteristics of Hellenistic poetry, such as the place of genre and genre distinctions.

A caveat is necessary. Our knowledge of a large proportion of the texts from both the Archaic (in my sense) and Hellenistic periods comes from fragments. Such fragmentary texts include works as important as Callimachus' *Aetia* and *Hecale*, and much of the output of Archaic poets such as Simonides and Stesichorus. Michael Haslam has drawn attention to the small proportion of what there once was of Archaic poetry, and the continuing absence of complete poems by many famous names (e.g. Alcman, Hipponax, Alcaeus).[4] Nevertheless, these fragments remain important, and there is also a considerable body of well-preserved material – Homer, Hesiod, Pindar's epinicians, Theocritus, the *Argonautica*, Callimachus' *Hymns*. This very contrast, however, between fragmentary

[4] Haslam 1994: 99–100.

and better-preserved authors can lead to a skewed perception of which poets are most influential – whole texts attract more scholarly attention and inevitably yield more parallels and allusions than isolated, uncertainly restored half-lines in papyri. I aim to avoid falling into this trap here by not seeking to identify one author or set of authors as most influential.[5] I attempt instead to illustrate the general importance of Archaic poetry for Hellenistic narrators, while pointing out particularly important affinities with the style of particular poets. But my aim is not to list parallels and allusions – rather my focus is on the ways in which narrators are portrayed in Hellenistic poetry, and how these ways are adapted from the presentation of narrators in Archaic poetry.

Uncertain restorations and the indeterminacy of context of many fragments are further interpretative barriers. Parsons has illustrated the dangers by pointing out the enduring, but phantom, presence of Agallis in Sappho fr. 31 L.–P.,[6] finally dismissed by the unnumbered *PSI* papyrus edited by Manfredi.[7] A lack of context is a particular problem for a project such as this one, which is based on asking 'who is speaking?' in a given poem. Not knowing if the speaker is, for example, a primary narrator or a character complicates much of the evidence. Hollis' thought experiment considering what the 'next line' would be of the hypothetically fragmentary *ferream ut soleam tenaci in voragine mula*, 'as a mule its iron shoe in the sticky swamp' (Catullus 17.26), demonstrates the dangers which our attempts to supply context and continuation present.[8] This line is in fact the end of a poem, though in isolation it invites a subsequent line. We do, however, have enough material to make (cautious) speculation justifiable in many cases, and to be able to draw more secure conclusions from complete or more complete texts about who is speaking and what this means for the portrayal of Archaic and Hellenistic narrators.[9]

POETIC MODELS AND POETIC MANNER

This book is meant, then, as a contribution to the flourishing study of the complex relationship of Hellenistic poetry to earlier texts. The importance of earlier poetry to Hellenistic poetry has, of course, long been recognised. Indeed, although much ancient literature clearly depends on imitating and

[5] This has been one failing of some previous approaches to the general relationship of the two periods, a desire to demonstrate the primacy of allusions to one author or genre (e.g. Homer or Hesiod). Cf. pp. 10–12 below.

[6] Parsons 1994: 120–1. [7] Manfredi 1965: 16–17. [8] Cf. Hollis 1997: 115–16.

[9] In general on the problems of collecting, cataloguing and studying fragmentary texts see Most 1997.

transforming the work of earlier authors,[10] the density and type of allusions in Hellenistic literature seem different from that in earlier literature, characterised by a greater 'self-consciousness' and demanding perhaps more detailed knowledge of the source text.[11] Often these allusions take the form of reference to the precise wording of an earlier text, or depend on the application of an earlier meaning of a word, or mark a change in the meaning of a word used in an earlier text.[12] Though such close lexical allusion is undoubtedly an important part of the style of several Hellenistic poets, Hellenistic engagement with earlier texts goes much further.

Marco Fantuzzi, among others, has recently emphasised the importance of poetic predecessors in the Hellenistic period by drawing attention to the Muse-like role of poetic models in authorising certain Hellenistic developments and innovations with a problematic or unclear tradition, such as Theocritean bucolic.[13] The poets used as such authorising models are not restricted to simply Archaic hexameter texts, and recent studies of individual Hellenistic poems and groups of poems have deepened our understanding of how the Hellenistic poets engage with a wide variety of texts and authors.[14] To take Callimachus as an example,[15] Bing has illustrated how Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* adapts the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (as well as several Pindaric poems),[16] while several studies have explored the use of Pindar's Cyrenean victory odes in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*.[17]

[10] Cf. Russell 1979: 1.

[11] Cf. Hopkinson 1988: 8, Bing 1988: 73 with n. 38. On pre-Hellenistic allusions cf. Davison 1955, Harvey 1957, Barron 1969: 133–6, Fowler 1987: 20–39, Noussia 2001: 48–52, 198–200.

[12] The adaptation of Homer in this way has been a particular focus – for examples of the study of Hellenistic *arte allusiva* see Giangrande 1967 and 1970. For a history and examination of this kind of approach see Rengakos 1992: 21–3 and 1994: 9–20, and below pp. 10–12 for some associated problems.

[13] Cf. Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 3–9. Other examples of the authorising role of previous poets include Hesiod at the beginning of Callimachus' *Aetia* (though the range of texts the *Aetia* prologue engages with is great – cf. Acosta-Hughes–Stephens 2002: 246) and Hipponax in Callimachus' *Iambi*. This use of poetic authorities continues in Augustan Latin poetry – cf., e.g., Cucchiarelli 2001: 175–9 on the role of Callimachus within Horatian satire.

[14] Such developments of previous texts in Hellenistic poetry have often been approached in the past from the point of view of Hellenistic 'crossing of genres', a concept which itself recognises a complex redeployment of earlier poetry. For a history of the approach, which is older than Kroll's phrase *Kreuzung der Gattungen*, 'crossing of genres', see Fantuzzi 1993b: 50–1, and below pp. 18–21 for some of its problems.

[15] For important studies of the complex literary texture of Theocritus see, e.g., Hunter 1996, and of Apollonius Hunter 1993a and Knight 1995, and cf. also the interesting suggestions of Rosenmeyer 1992 on Apollonian affinities with lyric.

[16] Cf. Bing 1988: 94–143.

[17] E.g. Krummen 1990: 108–11 and Kofler 1996. Cf. also Giannini 1990: 88–92. Early analogues for this kind of work include Smiley 1914 (on Pindar and Callimachus) and Clapp 1913 (on Pindar in Theocritus 16 and 17).

The reuse of broader Archaic and Classical traditions in, for example, Callimachus' *Hymns* has been explored by Falivene, Fantuzzi and Depew,[18] who have demonstrated how Callimachus' 'mimetic' hymns develop various aspects of choral lyric and cultic hymn, such as deictic markers of the 'here and now' of performance, while several scholars have studied Callimachus' hymnic adaptations of rhapsodic hymns.[19] Asper has illustrated the Archaic and Classical precedents, including Pindar and Parmenides, for Callimachus' poetological metaphors across different poems,[20] and similarly Richardson has explored the ways in which later poets such as Callimachus reflect descriptions of poetic practice in Pindar.[21]

Much of the work cited here has drawn attention to specific adaptations of Archaic techniques, devices or poetic strategies, that is to the adaptation of what we might characterise as Archaic 'poetic manner'. This subject is even more prominent in work such as that of Acosta-Hughes on Callimachus' book of *Iambi* and its Archaic iambic forerunners,[22] or Fuhrer on the careful deployment and adaptation of epinician conventions in Callimachus' three epinician poems (*Iamb*. 8, *Victoria Berenices* and *Victoria Sosibii*).[23] It is, I believe, through the study of the relationship between the manner of Archaic and Hellenistic poets that we can gain the clearest understanding of how the two periods of poetry are related. In the examination of technique, of the ways in which poets achieve particular effects, we can better discern how Pindar, for example, is a literary model for Callimachus, even when the metres and genres in which they are working are distinct.[24] This book develops this tradition of the study of poetic manner, by concentrating on how the three major Hellenistic poets developed Archaic ways of constructing their narrators.

The study of Hellenistic poetic manner and its development of Archaic models is not, however, only a recent phenomenon. Such an approach goes back, in fact, to work such as Perrotta's on the style of the Hellenistic

[18] Cf. Falivene 1990, Fantuzzi 1993a, Depew 2000: 78–9.

[19] E.g. Hunter 1992: 9–12 on Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena* and Bing–Uhrmeister 1994, Vestrheim 2000 and Fain 2004 on the *Hymn to Artemis*, in addition to the major commentaries on the hymns (e.g. Hopkinson 1984a, Bulloch 1985a). That Callimachean hymns combine cultic and rhapsodic traditions is emphasised in Hunter–Fuhrer 2002.

[20] Asper 1997. Cf. also D'Alessio 1995: 164–74 and Knox 1999: 279–85 for path-imagery in Parmenides and Pindar and its relationship to Callimachus.

[21] Richardson 1985.

[22] Acosta-Hughes 2002. This subject is also dealt with in Kerkhecker 1999, though less prominently.

[23] Fuhrer 1992.

[24] Cf. also the parallels between Hellenistic and Pindaric narrative techniques pointed out in passing recently in Cuypers 2004 (on Apollonius), Harder 2004 (on Callimachus) and Hunter 2004 (on Theocritus).

'epyllion'.[25] Perrotta associated with a Hellenistic reinterpretation of epic through lyric ways of narrating such features as a diminution and domestication of epic characters and actions, and a greater tendency towards the dramatic and direct speech in poems such as Theocritus *Idylls* 24 and 25 or the *Megara*,[26] characteristics to which modern scholarship has paid much attention.[27] He also discerned in the reduced magnitude of the Hellenistic epyllion when compared to the Archaic epic the influence of the piecemeal rhapsodic recitation of Homer, which he also thought important to the sudden openings of Hellenistic epyllia.[28] This attention to the Archaic models of major components of Hellenistic poetic style was an important development in the study of Hellenistic poetry and remains an important approach for understanding the relationship between Archaic and Hellenistic poetry.

In a similar vein, Peter Parsons commented in his publication of the *Victoria Berenices* that in 'some sense Callimachus' normal manner is Pindaric: allusiveness, uneven tempo, mannerist distortions'.[29] The uneven and 'distorted' nature of Pindaric, lyric and later certain Hellenistic narratives, which Perrotta had described with regard to the Hellenistic epyllion as a kind of 'foreshortening' of epic,[30] is particularly clear in the phenomenon I shall term 'unusual narrative emphasis'. This is the postponing or marginalisation of the 'main event' in a narrative, which results in an asymmetric or 'skewed' narrative where a greater part is devoted to what we might ordinarily consider peripheral events.[31] Such unusual narrative emphasis is common in particular in non-epic Archaic narrative, as in Pindar's *Pythian* 4, where what we might normally take as the 'climax' of the Argonautic story is disposed of in two lines:

[25] Perrotta 1923. I doubt, however, the 'epyllion' is a separate generic category in the early Hellenistic period. Cf. for the epyllion as a useful term (e.g.) Gutzwiller 1981: 2–9, Hollis 1990: 23–6, and for criticism of the concept Allen 1940 (attacking the view exemplified by Crump 1931: 22–4) and Cameron 1995: 447–53. See also Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 191–3 for the wide range of poems grouped under the term 'epyllion', within which we should recognise at least two distinct groups – longer poems like the *Hecale* and shorter pieces like the *Europa*.

[26] Perrotta 1923: 36–8.

[27] For 'domestication' in *Idyll* 24 cf. Hunter 1996: 11–13 and below pp. 225–6, for the Hellenistic tendency to combine the narrative and the dramatic cf., e.g., Harder 1992, Fantuzzi 1993a and Hunter 2000: 66–7 on Apollonius.

[28] Perrotta 1923: 36, 38–40. He also noted the important parallel of the sudden openings in Bacchylidean dithyrambs.

[29] Parsons 1977: 46. [30] Perrotta 1923: 37.

[31] This asymmetry and skewed narrative perspective are some of the defining characteristics of Callimachean narrative, and part of Callimachus' engagement with Archaic models, for D'Alessio 1996: I.5–7 in an important discussion.

κτεῖνε μὲν γλαυκῶπα τέχναις ποικιλόνωτον ὄφιν,
ὦ Ἀρκεσίλα, κλέψεν τε Μήδειαν σὺν αὐτᾷ, τὰν Πελίαο φονόν·

He killed by cunning the grey-eyed snake with the multi-coloured back,
O Arcesilas, and stole the willing Medea, Pelias' killer. (vv. 249–50)

Pythian 4 devotes far more attention to the Euphemid descent of the Battiads from the Argonautic visit to the Lemnian women (vv. 251–62) and Medea's prophecy about Euphemus' descendants (vv. 9–56).[32] Bacchylides also displays a similar technique, ending his narrative 'immediately before climactic point',[33] for example at 5.175, where Meleager's mention to Heracles of his sister Deianeira is not followed by an account of their meeting, or of Heracles' fate. Poets can employ such narrative skewing for obvious encomiastic purposes, as in the foregrounding of the encomiastically important Euphemus in *Pythian* 4, but such skewing can also form a part of the creation of a pseudo-spontaneous narratorial persona, which itself can be put to a number of uses, e.g. the emphasis of the narrator's sincerity in encomiastic poems.[34]

Scholars such as Bühler, Cairns and Fuhrer have connected unusual narrative emphasis in Hellenistic poetry in general terms with the influence of Archaic lyric.[35] Bühler compares the abbreviated conclusion of Moschus' *Europa* with the end of the Pelops myth in Pindar's *Olympian* 1. At the end of the *Europa* (vv. 162–6) we hear of Europa's seduction and subsequent childbirth, but not the expected etymology of Europe. Bühler argues that this sort of narrative distortion is alien to Archaic epic, and that it is adopted as an epic technique in the Hellenistic period. There are two other well-known Hellenistic examples in Callimachus. In the *Hecale* (fr. 69.1 H.) Theseus' breaking of the bull's horn is told in a parenthesis which scholars usually take as indicating an abbreviated treatment of the struggle against the bull in favour of a concentration on the meeting with Hecale.[36]

[32] Argonautic narratives are perhaps particularly liable to this kind of treatment. The narrator of Herodotus' *Histories* dismisses the Argonauts' getting of the fleece with διαπρηξαμένους καὶ τἆλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκατο, 'having also accomplished the other things for which they had come' (1.2.2), while Apollonius sidelines, in different ways, both the building of the *Argo* (see Murray 2005) and the 'climax' of Jason getting the fleece. Nevertheless, unusual narrative emphasis is in fact typical of Pindaric narrative, where summary and ellipsis predominate (see Griffith 1993), and not confined to narratives about the Argonauts.

[33] Carey 1995: 102 n. 26. [34] Cf. below pp. 67–73 on pseudo-spontaneity.

[35] Cf. Bühler 1960: 198, Cairns 1979: 112–16, and Fuhrer 1988, who studies Callimachus' adaptations of the Pindaric 'break-off' as used, e.g., to skew narratives.

[36] E.g. Hollis 1990: 215; cf. also D'Alessio 1996: I.8. The degree of asymmetry here may, however, have been exaggerated – the fragments we can certainly or probably attribute to the description of the battle (frr. 165 inc.auct., 67, 68, 69.1–3 H.) suggest that the treatment of Theseus overcoming the bull may have been fuller than critics usually allow.

A clearer example is the following comment from the *Victoria Berenices*, which abbreviates the narrative of Heracles battling the Nemean lion:[37]

αὐτὸς ἐπιφράσσαιτο, τάμοι δ' ἄπο μῆκος ἀοιδῆ·

Let him [the reader] suggest it to himself, and cut off the length of the song. (*SH* 264.1)

Both Archaic and Hellenistic examples we should contrast with the striving after 'full presentation' in the Homeric epics. The Homeric narrator gives the audience the impression that they are receiving an account of the story like the view they would have if they witnessed the events themselves,[38] and correspondingly goes to great lengths to provide spatial and temporal continuity to the narrative. He changes scenes unobtrusively,[39] and omits details not worth extended narration, without drawing attention to himself, by using summaries.[40] When the Homeric narrator leaves things out or passes quickly over them, our attention is not drawn to their omission in the way it is by unusual narrative emphasis in some Archaic lyric and Hellenistic narratives.

I build on this kind of comparative study of Hellenistic poetic manner as modelled on and adapted from earlier poetry, by taking up the topic of the primary narrator in Hellenistic poetry, where the adaptation of Archaic models is all-pervasive. I hope to broaden out the study of the models of Hellenistic poetic voices beyond Homer, Hesiod and Pindar to include Archaic poetic narrative in general, by providing a systematic, comprehensive and comparative study of the narrators in Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius, something we have lacked to date.[41] I hope this study will confirm, among other things, the importance as central poetic models of Archaic poetry beyond the Homeric epics or other early hexameter texts.[42]

[37] See D'Alessio 1996: I.19. [38] See Richardson 1990: 197–9.
[39] See Richardson 1990: 110–19. [40] See Richardson 1990: 13.
[41] Jennifer Lynn's important 1995 dissertation on Callimachus' narrators remains unpublished, and treats only the *Hecale*, *Aetia* 1–2 and the Acontius and Cydippe narrative from *Aetia* 3. I build on this work as on that of scholars who have studied Hellenistic narrators in individual poems or groups of poems, such as Schmitz 1999 on the narrator of the *Aetia* prologue and Kerkhecker 1999 on the development of the narrators in Callimachus' *Iambi*. Cameron 1995 makes some important observations on the nature of Callimachean narrators, e.g. at 369 on their relationship to Pindaric, Hesiodic and Homeric narrators. See also D'Alessio 1996: I.5–23 for a survey of Callimachean 'voice' across his different poems. The recent surveys in de Jong–Nünlist–Bowie 2004 on Callimachus (Harder 2004), Apollonius (Cuypers 2004) and Theocritus (Hunter 2004) are useful but more general than the studies in this book.
[42] For the importance of Hesiod to Callimachus see Reinsch-Werner 1976. Cf. also Fakas 2001 for Aratus and Hesiod.

Despite the great deal of recent work done on the engagement with non-epic Archaic texts in Hellenistic poetry, there are some approaches to the poetic models of Hellenistic poets which, though useful in themselves, are based on some assumptions which have led in the past to the sidelining of non-epic texts as models and which are not entirely without influence today. For example, the study of Hellenistic adaptation of Homeric language and close lexical allusion to the Homeric epics, which is prominent, for instance, in some important commentaries on Callimachus,[43] assumes that 'the constant interplay between imitation and variation of Homer' is the foundation of Callimachean (and more generally Hellenistic) literary style.[44] It is variation which is the key,[45] and this often takes the form of reference to rare or unique words in Homer, or variant readings.[46] In very many cases, of course, there are such clear allusions to Homeric variants, meanings and problems of interpretation.[47] But the attention to lexical similarity to an earlier text is often given at the expense of other sorts of similarity and influence, even in the case of Homer, as Knight points out,[48] such as the adaptation of subject matter, situations, characters and scene structures. Furthermore, concentration on lexical similarity and verbal echoes can privilege the relationship between texts in the same metre. We need not, with Williams, conclude that ἀέναον πῦρ, 'eternal fire', in Callimachus (*H.* 2.83) must be a variation of the epic phrase ἀκάματον πῦρ, 'unwearying fire', rather than the Pindaric phrase αἰενάου πυρός (*P.* 1.6), used of the 'eternal fire' of Zeus' thunderbolts.[49] Is the ἀκάματον πῦρ which Athena kindles from Diomedes' helmet and shield at *Il.* 5.4 so much closer to Callimachus' description of Apollo's sacrificial eternal fire? This kind of privileging of allusions to or influence from texts in the same metre we also find, in a different form, in the relegation of Pindar's *Pythian* 4 from the main sources of Apollonius' *Argonautica* by Mooney in his commentary, as one of the poems which introduced the Argonautic story 'incidentally'.[50]

Similarities of poetic manner between Archaic lyric, elegiac and iambic poems and Hellenistic poetry are also likely to be marginalised if we read various programmatic passages in Callimachus and Theocritus as keys for deciphering the nature of Hellenistic poetic strategies (better revealed, of

[43] E.g. Williams 1978 on Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*. [44] Williams 1978: 4.
[45] Cf. Giangrande 1967: 85. [46] See, e.g., Rengakos 1992 and 1994.
[47] E.g. Callimachus at *H.* 1.34 and Apollonius at 3.1213 use κευθμός, 'depth', found in Homer only at *Il.* 13.28, which Σ bT ad loc. reports as doubted by some ancient scholars. Cf. McLennan 1977: 65.
[48] Knight 1995: 17. [49] Williams 1978: 74.
[50] See Mooney 1912: 13, and 12–25 for his analysis of the sources of the *Argonautica*.

course, through attention to poetic practice).[51] The important role Hesiod, for example, plays in Callimachean programmatic passages should not limit study of Callimachus' adaptation of Archaic poetry to hexameter epic and didactic,[52] nor mean that we should explain differences from Homer as being necessarily 'Hesiodic'. The assumption that any mention of Hesiod must be part of a programmatic preference for him over Homer has even influenced the interpretation and emendation of Callimachean texts such as *Epigr*. 27 Pf. on Aratus. Reitzenstein suggested,[53] for example, emending (with Scaliger) the object whom Aratus does not imitate in the received text from οὐ τὸν ἀοιδὸν | ἔσχατον (vv. 1–2) to οὐ τὸν ἀοιδῶν | ἔσχατον. He took this emended text to refer to 'the best of poets', i.e. Homer. Aratus chooses, on this view, to imitate not Homer, but τὸ μελιχρότατον | τῶν ἐπέων, 'the sweetest of epics' (vv. 2–3),[54] which refers to Hesiod's embodiment of the stylistic ideal of sweetness in the *Works and Days*, in contrast to Homeric grandeur.[55]

We need to be careful. This line of interpretation stands behind such descriptions of Homer as seen by the Hellenistic poets as '*eskhatos*, extreme, probably in the sense of inimitable' and the claim that 'Hesiod, whom he [*sc*. Callimachus] calls "honey-sweet", is constantly preferred as the model', without any explicit reference to *Epigr*. 27 Pf.[56] It is clearly problematic to emend the epigram because of the perception of a Callimachean preference for Hesiod over Homer, and then to cite it as evidence of this preference. But Cameron has suggested some reasons to be wary of the standard interpretation of an opposition between Homer and Hesiod in this epigram. He notes that ἔσχατος, which usually means 'furthest', 'last' or 'ultimate', is not found without further qualification in the sense of 'best'.[57] Reitzenstein's examples, e.g. τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται | βασιλεῦσι, 'the best comes to a peak in kings' (Pindar *O*. 1.113–14), all have a context which determines the meaning (in this case κορυφοῦται, 'comes to a peak'). Cameron suggests, following Kaibel,[58] that we should interpret the received text as meaning that

[51] See Hunter 2000: 65 on the dangers of abstracting out of Callimachus a 'credo' against which the Callimachean credentials of poems or poets are then 'tested', and Asper 1997: 246–7, who notes that Callimachus' pronouncements on poetry are all highly metaphorical and not unambiguous statements of allegiance to a set of defined literary-critical principles. Cf. Cairns 1979: 10–20 for explicit reference to programmatic passages in Callimachus as adding up to a 'manifesto'.

[52] See Reinsch-Werner 1976: 308–11 for a programmatic interpretation of *Aetia* fr. 2 Pf., the *Somnium*, criticised at Cameron 1995: 366–8. Cf. also Cairns 1979: 17 for the programmatic importance to Hellenistic poetry in general of Hesiod's meeting with the Muses in the *Theogony* (adapted in the *Somnium*), and Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 51–60 for the close engagement with Hesiod at the beginning of *Aetia* 1.

[53] Reitzenstein 1931: 44–6. [54] Cf. Reinsch-Werner 1976: 326. [55] Reitzenstein 1931: 47.

[56] Beye 1982: 7. [57] Cameron 1995: 374–5. [58] Kaibel 1894: 120.

Callimachus is saying that Aratus has ἀπεμάξατο, 'skimmed off' (v. 3),[59] not τὸν ἀοιδὸν | ἔσχατον, 'the poet [*sc.* Hesiod, mentioned in v. 1] down to the last detail', but τὸ μελιχρότατον | τῶν ἐπέων, 'the sweetest part of his verses'.[60] Aratus has not imitated every aspect of Hesiod, only the best, a task which has cost him much effort and sleep (v. 4). This would make Homer a phantom presence in the epigram, and Hesiod a partial model, not the founder of a programmatically approved style.

We cannot limit the degree of engagement with Archaic poetic manner in Hellenistic poetry to variations of Homer or exclusive modelling after Hesiod, nor can we determine the depth of Hellenistic experimentation with and development of the narrative techniques of earlier poets simply by reading the programmatic pronouncements of Callimachus. But we might ask what the reasons are for this deep level of engagement with an extremely wide range of Archaic poems and poem types. What is driving the Hellenistic interest in the poetic manner of the Archaic period?

The answer is not, of course, simple. There is an element of historical or antiquarian interest, in the sense that we can see an engagement with Archaic poetry in a Hellenistic poem from one point of view as analogous to the labours of Alexandrian scholars (often among the poets themselves) to preserve and catalogue the poetry of the past in the Library. Some Hellenistic experimentation with or development of Archaic forms or song types, such as the use of choral lyric techniques, material or characteristics, but in hexameters or elegiacs,[61] may be meant, in part, to 'preserve' these song types, now that their wider performance and social contexts had disappeared.[62] This tendency points to a sense of rupture with the poetry of the past and the societies which produced it, also reflected in such phenomena as the 'memorialising' of earlier poets both in monuments and in poetry.[63]

But the appeal could also be more practical. Certain poems, and their narrative strategies, were of obvious usefulness and importance – Pindar's *Pythian* 5, composed for a fifth-century king of Cyrene, and perhaps performed at or in association with the Apollo festival of the Carneia at Cyrene, would have been an inescapable and indispensable model for a Cyrenean poet such as Callimachus writing a *Hymn to Apollo* with implicit

[59] Cameron 1995: 378. [60] Cameron 1995: 378–9.

[61] E.g. Callimachus' use of Doric in his elegiac *Hymn to Athena* or hexameter *Hymn to Demeter*, on which see Fantuzzi 1993a: 928–9, or his epinicians in elegiacs (*Victoria Berenices* and *Victoria Sosibii*).

[62] Cf. Fantuzzi 1993b: 42–6, Hunter 1996: 3–5, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 26–33.

[63] Cf. Bing 1993b: 619–24, Acosta-Hughes 2002: 282–8 on monuments like the *Archilocheion* on Paros (see also now Clay 2004 on the cult of Archilochus on Paros), epigrams purporting to be epitaphs of famous poets, and the inclusion of Archaic poets as speakers in Hellenistic poems (e.g. Hipponax in the *Iambi*).

praise of a Hellenistic king.[64] There may also have been a sense that the Archaic and early Classical periods were in some ways similar to the Hellenistic period. For example, the wide variety of authors and addressees from all over the Greek world which we find in Archaic lyric to the middle of the fifth century may also have appealed to Hellenistic poets writing at a polycentric time when Athens had ceased to be the uncontested Greek cultural capital. The Greek drama of the Classical period, in contrast, is by Athenians, about (at least in one sense) Athenians and strongly linked to a performance context in Athens. The poetry of the Archaic period, however, with its wide geographical spread and range of song types, might have been seen as more akin to the Hellenistic Mediterranean.[65]

D'Alessio has drawn attention to the further parallels between Pindar and Callimachus as poets working for patrons in periods where the position of the poet was undergoing analogous, if distinct, changes,[66] and cites in this regard Callimachus' redeployment in fr. 222 Pf. of the *Iambi* of the opening of Pindar's *Isthmian* 2, where Pindar contrasts the freely given love poetry of the past, 'when the Muse did not love profit, nor work for hire' (ἁ Μοῖσα γὰρ οὐ φιλοκερδής πω τότ' ἦν οὐδ' ἐργάτις, v. 6), with a dependence on money in his day. Callimachus reworks this, with a reference to Simonides, as οὐ γὰρ ἐργάτιν τρέφω | τὴν Μοῦσαν, ὡς ὁ Κεῖος Ὑλίχου *νέπους*, 'because I am not raising my Muse to work for hire in the way the Cean descendant of Hylichus did'. Despite the denial here of monetary reward for poetry, the Hellenistic poets did, of course, write encomiastic verse (e.g. Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices*), so that the encomiastic verse of the Archaic period, and the methods of self-presentation used, will have been of obvious relevance.[67]

We can explain the importance of other Archaic poets as models as being in part the result of their anticipation of some Hellenistic concerns,[68] and the opportunity this afforded for echoing or adapting their poetic strategies. A clear example is the archaic iambicist Hipponax, who appears as

[64] Cf. Stephens 2003: 178–82, 208–12 on the adaptations of the Argonautic *Pythian* 4, and its narrative of the foundation of a North African Greek city, in Apollonius' *Argonautica* in order to legitimate Greek presence in Egypt and perhaps echo Egyptian cosmogony.

[65] Cf. Hunter 1996: 1–3.

[66] See D'Alessio 1996: I.14–15 for Pindar facing up to the commodification of song in monetary terms, Callimachus to writing in the first Greek divine monarchy.

[67] Cf. Theocritus 16, written for Hieron II of Syracuse with the Pindaric odes for Hieron I. See on this Hunter 1996: 82–90.

[68] See also Cairns 1979: 13 n. 59 on Pindar's self-consciousness as an *epigone* with regard to earlier versions of myths (e.g. *N.* 7. 20off.), which he suggests may have attracted the Hellenistic poets. Bulloch 1992: 332 discerns a 'spiritual kinship' between Callimachus and Pindar, but does not specify this further.

the primary narrator of Callimachus' *Iamb*. 1. The Archaic Hipponax has been described as 'a kind of proto-Hellenistic poet' with reference to his learning and allusiveness.[69] In particular Hipponax appears to have used parody of earlier poems and genres, especially the *Odyssey*,[70] to an unprecedented degree.[71] Hipponax's parodies of epic take place in a uniformly low atmosphere, where the characters all seem members of an underclass, and the subject matter is regularly sexual or scatological and invective and abusive language common. This 'lowering' of epic through allusion to or development of Odyssean characters and situations itself is an important forerunner to Hellenistic experimentation with the presentation of epic and heroic material and likely to have been of interest to the Hellenistic poets. But, as Carey has emphasised, it seems to represent a 'distillation' by Hipponax of some key generic characteristics of *iambos* to create a narrower, more well-defined type of poetry.[72] Hipponax seems to eschew the tonal variety found in the fragments of Archilochus and Semonides, where the subject matter appropriate to *iambos* appears to overlap to a significant degree with elegy,[73] and concentrate on a more coherent low poetry of abuse and self-abuse. This process of generic 'distillation' has strong echoes in the Hellenistic period in the scholarly identification of certain genres by particular formal features, such as the paean by the *ie*-cry,[74] and the increasing dependence on such markers to indicate genre in poetry.[75]

But I would like to urge as a (further) central reason for the engagement by Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius with Archaic poetry the opportunities Archaic narrative strategies and techniques afforded the Hellenistic poets for the articulation of their own narrative styles and effects. Pindar, Hesiod, the *Homeric Hymns* etc. provided an invaluable 'pattern book' for the construction of narratives and narrators.[76] We can only achieve a proper of understanding of how these Hellenistic narrators work through the consideration of the effect on them of their Archaic models.

[69] Brown 1997: 87 n. 34, and cf. also Degani 1984: 176–84 for the interest in Hipponax of the Hellenistic poets, especially Callimachus.

[70] Cf., e.g., Degani 1984: 187–8, Rosen 1990. [71] Cf. Carey 2003.

[72] Cf. Carey 2003. [73] Cf. Carey 2003 and Bowie 2001.

[74] See Käppel 1992: 34–43, Rutherford 2001b: 90–108 and the differing opinions of Callimachus (paean) and Aristarchus (dithyramb) on Bacchylides' *Cassandra* (B. 23) in *P.Oxy.* 2368. Callimachus based his classification on the presence of the *ie*-cry.

[75] See Rutherford 2001b: 4–5, Fantuzzi 1980: 436–9, Fantuzzi 1993b: 43–6, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 23–5. On the issue of Archaic and Hellenistic genres in general, see below pp. 18–26.

[76] Cf. on this approach in Callimachus D'Alessio 1996: I.6 and Lowe 2001: 79–99, esp. 80 and 97–9.

IMPORTANCE OF VOICE

Richard Hunter has pointed out that no feature of Hellenistic poetical style has received more recent critical attention than the 'constant demand of poet-narrators to be recognised as the controlling force behind the words of the text'.[77] The narrator's voice is a central aspect of Hellenistic literary production and its criticism, for example in the work of Simon Goldhill.[78] Any discussion of Greek (not only Hellenistic) poetic voice is indebted to work such as Goldhill's, but much work remains still to be done on the appropriation and transformation of Archaic poems and voices in the Hellenistic period.[79] Some scholars, however, have objected to attempts to point to models for the development of narratorial personas in Hellenistic poetry. Hutchinson, for example, notes that in Pindar the 'poet occupies a number of roles', the handling of which is 'appropriately complex'.[80] He denies, however, any resemblance to Hellenistic play with poetic role and persona, chiefly on the grounds that Pindar has different generic and encomiastic aims from the Hellenistic poets. Whatever Pindar's aims, though, his development of a narratorial persona in the epinicians, the subject of much recent scholarship,[81] provides an important model and cross-reference for Apollonius and Callimachus in particular.

If Goldhill is right to connect Hellenistic concerns about the role and status of the poet with the anxious awareness of the monuments and literature of the past,[82] exacerbated by the collection and cataloguing of the poetry of the Archaic and Classical periods, then establishing the precise relationship between Hellenistic and earlier poetical voices becomes of paramount importance. The narrators of previous poets help to create Hellenistic attitudes to the position of the poet, and provide the raw material to highlight the problems which arise, and deal with them.

This study is explicitly about the voice of the 'narrator' rather than the 'poet' because of the centrality of the relationship between narrator and author in both Archaic and Hellenistic poetry. The close connections between narrator and author are of course marked by the use of the term 'poet' to describe the primary narrator of a given work, but this also masks the precise degree to which the two are related, which varies from poem to

[77] Hunter 1993a: 111. [78] Cf. Goldhill 1991a and, on Theocritus, Goldhill 1986.
[79] See the important groundwork laid out by D'Alessio 1996: I.5–23 on the complexities of Callimachus' play with voice and its Pindaric forerunners.
[80] Hutchinson 1988: 12–13. [81] E.g. Lefkowitz 1991, D'Alessio 1994a, Carey 1995, 2000.
[82] Cf. Goldhill 1986: 30–1 and below pp. 16–17.

poem.[83] The dependence of the narrator's persona on biographical facts about the author is clear, for example, in both Pindaric epinicians which exploit Pindar's Theban nationality (e.g. *Isthmian* 1) and in Callimachus' *Iambi*. I examine such dependence in this book with the concept of 'quasi-biography'.[84] I employ the term 'narrator', rather than 'speaker',[85] to make explicit the narratological underpinnings of this project, which are discussed in detail below.[86]

Furthermore, one can resolve the apparent paradox between the prominence of Hellenistic 'poet-narrators' and the problematic status of the 'poet', his authority and the writing of poetry, as argued by Seeck and Goldhill,[87] by considering the relationship between poet and narrator. The narrator in Hellenistic poetry becomes one strategy for foregrounding the problems of poetic authority,[88] as well as for negotiating such problems. The advertising of the problem of 'poetic truth', for example, emphasises the separation of narrator and author, and hence protects the latter – poets do not lie, narrators do (contrast Solon fr. 29 W.). Hellenistic poets can deflect the problems associated with the position of the poet by placing a prominent narrator in the way, one who is both like and unlike the author.

Critics often link the problems of the position of the poet to a 'crisis' of poetry in the fourth century,[89] though such a crisis often meets scepticism on the grounds of lack of evidence.[90] However, the claim that the position and authority of the poet was a problematic one does not depend on the existence of this crisis, and can be separated from it. It seems, rather, to relate directly to the anxious awareness of the poetic output of previous poets, which Choerilus of Samos already expressed around 400 BC (ἆ μάκαρ, ὅστις ἔην κεῖνον χρόνον ἴδρις ἀοιδῆς, | Μουσάων θεράπων, ὅτ' ἀκήρατος ἦν ἔτι λειμών, 'Ah blessed was the man skilful in song, servant of the Muses, who lived at that time when the meadow was still virgin', fr. 2.1–2 *PEG*). Poetic status and authority are at issue because of

[83] Cf. Hutchinson 2001: x, who employs the term 'narrator' to emphasise that 'the speaker, *even when explicitly connected to the author* [my italics], is always a literary creation'.
[84] For this concept see below pp. 30–2.
[85] Miller 1993, with reference to Pindar, and Bing 1995a, with reference to Callimachus, both use the term 'speaker'.
[86] Pp. 27–35, where I also indicate other possible approaches to poetic voice, such as the study of persona common in the criticism of Latin satire.
[87] See Seeck 1975: 203 and Goldhill 1986: 31–2.
[88] E.g. by casting doubt on the narrator's credibility, as at Callimachus *H.* 1.65, see below pp. 120–2.
[89] E.g. in Gelzer 1993.
[90] Cf. Hutchinson 1988: 2–3, Hopkinson 1988: 11, and Henrichs 1993: 173–8 attacking Gelzer 1993.

the problem of 'what to sing?' given the mass of pre-existing literature – 'the inheritance and what to do with it'.[91] Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius overcome such problems through experimentation with the possibilities offered by different types of narrator and their juxtaposition – new voices (appropriating Archaic voices) rather than simply new content.

The use of Archaic models in the depiction of such narrators is all-pervasive and instructive. Hellenistic poets exploit the gap between narrator and author which is already present in Archaic poetry, and employed in a variety of ways,[92] to avoid problems of poetic authority. This sort of transformation of Archaic models is typical – in the *Argonautica* we find the inscribing of some of the 'difficulties of composition' a poet might have (e.g. selecting between different versions of a myth, or choosing what to include). This does not appear, as in earlier poetry, as a foil, with the narrator overcoming his struggles, but within an overall pattern of progressive narratorial decline.[93]

We should not, I think, restrict explanations of such transformations and adaptations of Archaic voices to general historical or literary-historical developments. We should make room for the personal aesthetic choice of individual poets, as well as generic differences, alongside the positing of larger-scale phenomena such as changes in performance or reception conditions, for example audiences no longer having access to the complex of music, song and dance making up choral lyric, but receiving poetry as text, whether read or recited.[94] The problems of poetic authority and the anxious awareness of previous poets seem to me as (or more) important as such changes in the circumstances of literary production and reception, but even here we should resist the temptation to refer everything to broad historical trends. It is not simply because Theocritus encountered Homer, Pindar and Euripides as texts to be read, nor because he himself was read in this manner, nor even because of the collection of all of these authors in one place where they could be read, that Hellenistic poets became acutely aware of their relationship to the poetry of the past. It is just as important that *Theocritus* read these poets, and responded with his own individual aims and artistic choices. Such a statement should be obvious, but the necessary indeterminacy which it introduces (authorial aims and

[91] So Parsons 1993: 160. [92] Cf. below pp. 67–73.
[93] Cf. below ch. 5 on the *Argonautica*, pp. 309–11.
[94] On changes from 'orality' to 'literacy' from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods cf. below pp. 37–42.

choices being difficult, if not impossible, to recover) is perhaps one reason for its neglect.

That Hellenistic poetic responses to historical changes in how poetry was received by audiences or to a sense of coming after the great mass of Greek literature were not uniform we can demonstrate through the different strategies employed by our three Hellenistic poets. The *Argonautica* does not engage with Homer or Pindar in the same way as the *Hecale*, the *Victoria Berenices* or Theocritus *Idyll* 24, nor are the voices in these poems identical. Genre, of course, plays a part in the differences here, but the variety of ways of engaging with Archaic poetry which we shall encounter should make us wary of isolating any one factor as determining the nature of Hellenistic poetry, or explaining its differences from earlier poetry. We should not (of course) forget the hand of Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius in their own poetry.

VOICE, GENRE AND POETICS

We should not simply attribute the adaptation of narrators and aspects of their voices from non-epic Archaic poetry in Hellenistic epic such as the *Argonautica* or other hexameter poetry such as Callimachus' *Hymns* to Hellenistic 'crossing of genres',[95] if this is to mean simply an intellectual exercise driven by a relentless pursuit of novelty. As Fantuzzi in particular has urged, we should see 'cross-generic' Hellenistic texts such as Callimachus' mimetic *Hymns* as (among other things) recovering types of lyric poetry no longer possible in their traditional forms by adapting them to the 'recitative' metres of the hexameter and elegiac couplet.[96] These genres it was no longer possible to recreate in their original form both because their wider social contexts had disappeared, and because poets probably no longer had the requisite technical musical expertise.[97] In the Archaic period the occasions on which certain types of song were performed, and the wider contexts into which they were embedded, formed the bulk of what guided an audience as to what to expect at a given performance.[98] For the Hellenistic poets, recasting these song types in

[95] For the term see Kroll 1924: 202–24.

[96] Cf. Fantuzzi 1993b: 44–6, Hunter 1996: 3–5, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 30–2.

[97] See Fantuzzi 1993b: 51–4, Hunter 1996: 3–6.

[98] Cf. Nagy 1990: 362 with n. 127, Käppel 1992: 34–43, Dougherty 1994: 43, Depew–Obbink 2000: 3, Rutherford 2001b: 4–5. For genre as determining what an audience expects it will hear or read see Jauss 1982: 23–4, 79–82, Käppel 1992: 9–10, 17–21, Conte 1994: 105–28, Depew–Obbink 2000: 3–6.

new metres, formal features indicating genre for a reader or audience had to bear a greater weight than before as markers of generic identity or affiliation.[99] For Hellenistic scholars, attempting to classify Archaic poetry, but without direct access to the occasions which largely determined the content and form of Archaic genres, formal features and content as indications of original occasion/genre were the main evidence.[100] As Fantuzzi points out, this latter scholarly enterprise would have brought with it an awareness of the break with the occasions of earlier poetry.[101] Such poetry, if it was to be preserved in new Hellenistic poems, would have to be transformed. Such 'experiments', then, as Callimachus' mimetic *Hymns* or epinicians in elegiacs are not simply part of a 'formalist game',[102] or straightforwardly transgressive of generic rules drawn up simply to be flouted.[103]

The concept of 'crossing of genres' as critics normally employ it in the criticism of Hellenistic poetry is in fact too blunt a tool to describe on its own the mixture of tones, styles, subjects, structures and language which we encounter not only in Hellenistic poetry but in ancient literature in general.[104] Hence I shall not make extensive use of it when analysing the transformation of Archaic poetic voices in Hellenistic poetry.[105] A biological model of genres underlies the idea of 'crossing' genres,[106] which assumes pre-Hellenistic genres are pure species which are then crossed to produce hybrid genres, a process which is often thought to begin in the Hellenistic period.[107] But, as Fantuzzi has noted, we find striking examples of poems before the Hellenistic period which display close affinities with genres from which they differ markedly in form, such as Erinna's probably fourth-century hexameter *Distaff*, which strongly echoes the lyric *threnos* as well as elegy.[108] Part of the reason for the form of poems like the *Distaff* may itself be the decline of occasions for lyric song types and the need to translate them into different metres. But it demonstrates that pre-Hellenistic genres were not 'pure', nor were Hellenistic poets or scholars

[99] Cf. Rutherford 2001b: 4–5, Fantuzzi 1993b: 43–6. But this division of Archaic genre as determined by occasion, Hellenistic genre by formal features, can be taken too far. See Dickie 1993, D'Alessio 1994b, Schröder 1999: 49–61 on the importance of formal markers even for the Archaic paean.

[100] Cf. Fantuzzi 1993b: 42–5. [101] Fantuzzi 1993b: 44–6, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 25–6.

[102] Thus Fantuzzi 1993b: 31–43. [103] Thus Fantuzzi 1980: 443, contrast the view of Rossi 1971.

[104] Cf. Conte 1994: 120. See also Hinds 2000 for an acute critique of the concept of 'crossing of genres' as applied to Latin epic.

[105] See, however, for a defence of the continuing usefulness of the concept Rossi 2000.

[106] Cf. Fantuzzi 1993b: 50, Farrell 2003: 392–3. [107] Cf. Rossi 1971: 83–4.

[108] Fantuzzi 1993b: 31–6, cf. also Hunter 1996: 14–17 on such features of the *Distaff* as its Doric dialect. The fourth-century date of the *Distaff* is sometimes doubted, but seems reasonably secure – cf. Fantuzzi 1993b: 35 n. 14.

likely to have perceived them thus. We can also find close affinities to poems in different genres, or associated with different occasions or contexts, in our Archaic poets. Pindar's *Pythian* 4 seems strongly to recall Stesichorean 'lyric epic', both in its magnitude (surely an important formal marker of genre here) and in various features of its style.[109] Similarly, Simonides combines (separate) rhapsodic hymn and epic into one elegiac poem in the *Plataea* elegy.[110]

The Hellenistic poets would have found clear precedents for their experimentation in generic form, not a set of pure, uncombined genres. We can clearly see, in fact, that some of this experimentation is not an arbitrary combination of completely distinct breeds of song, but builds on clear Archaic forerunners.[111] Callimachus' elegiac epinicians, for example, are clearly related to some degree to elegiac victory epigrams written as early as the sixth century (e.g. *Epigr*. 1 Ebert), as Fuhrer and Cameron point out.[112] A clear precedent in a genre clearly related to, if distinct from, the choral epinicians of Pindar and Bacchylides partly motivates the choice of form here.[113]

There is no wholesale rejection of the applicability of genre and genre norms nor an attempt to demonstrate the emptiness of particular genres in the poetry of Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius. Clayman thinks that 'crossing of genres' in Callimachus' *Iambi* (e.g. *iambos* with epigram in *Iamb*. 7 and 9) produces parodies, and that such generic mixture 'demonstrates the emptiness of both [*sc*. genres]'.[114] But the effect of many of the *Iambi* depends more on the (iambic) self-ironising of the narrator, rather than genre parody.[115] Some scholars, such as DeForest, have characterised the *Argonautica* as an 'anti-epic'.[116] But this assumes that the *Argonautica* is an epic written in accordance with the perceived anti-epic aesthetics of Callimachus, as expressed in particular in the *Aetia* prologue.[117] The

[109] Cf. Carey 1995: 97 with n. 21.

[110] Cf. Parsons 1994: 122. Note, however, that even in the case of the *Plataea* elegy there are clear precedents – long narrative elegies such as Mimnermus' *Smyrneis* (Bowie 1986: 27–34), and the *nomos* (Obbink 2001: 65–6).

[111] Which is not to say, of course, that the Hellenistic poets do not go any further in their generic 'games' than their predecessors. For an analysis of the extensive use of characteristic elements of other genres in the *Aetia* see Harder 1998.

[112] Cf. Fuhrer 1993: 90–7, Cameron 1995: 150 (following Fuhrer).

[113] Callimachus' elegiac epinicians are not simply extended victory epigrams – they display many of the characteristics of choral epinician. Cf. Fuhrer 1993: 82 with n. 26 and below pp. 189–90.

[114] Clayman 1980: 51. Cf. Beye 1993: 191 for Callimachus' *Hymns* as parodies of the *Homeric Hymns*, with reference to their cross-generic elements.

[115] See below pp. 202–12 and in general Cameron 1995: 145–7 for criticism of Clayman's view.

[116] Cf. DeForest 1994: 4 following Beye 1969.

[117] Cf. DeForest 1994: 25–32.

prologue, however, as Cameron and Schmitz have suggested, is primarily about (an) elegy, not epic.[118]

There are also some clear stylistic distinctions in Hellenistic poetry between different genres – e.g. in the much less prominent narrator in the *Hecale* as compared with Callimachus' elegiac poems.[119] The maintenance of such distinctions should prompt careful examination of what the combination of elements from different genres achieves, rather than being referred simply to a wider Hellenistic attitude to genre. Hellenistic poetry does not reject generic boundaries as irrelevant – as Hinds urges in the case of Augustan Latin poetry,[120] the combination of elements from distinct genres reveals a profound interest in genre norms. Moreover, the effective combination of the manner and voice properly belonging to different genres, which is surely what we see in Hellenistic texts such as Callimachus' *Hymns* (combining elements, to confine myself to the primary narrator, of rhapsodic hymn, epic, Pindaric epinician, Hesiodic didactic etc.), depends on the existence of generic boundaries and their recognition as valid and cogent.[121] The *Hymns* of Callimachus are not generically anarchic – the precise combinations are harnessed to the overall structure and effect of each individual hymn.

Furthermore, such Hellenistic use of models from genres or poems where the narrator often provides much of the unity in a particular text (e.g. Pindaric epinicians) is not a reason for seeing a rejection by Hellenistic poets of specific earlier literary-critical views of genre and genre norms such as Aristotle's, which privilege a different type of unity. There is a widespread critical assumption that Callimachus in particular was anti-Aristotelian in literary criticism,[122] and critics often argue that Callimachus in the *Aetia* prologue rejected the concept of Aristotelian unity.[123] Aristotelian unity is unity of *mythos* (μῦθος, 'plot'),[124] and rejecting it

[118] Cameron 1995: 339–61, Schmitz 1999 and below pp. 178–82.

[119] Cf. Heinze 1919 = 1960: 375–6, followed by Hunter 1993a: 115 and Cameron 1995: 440. Cf. also below ch. 3 n. 471.

[120] Cf. Hinds 1987: 116–17.

[121] At least in the major poetry of the early Hellenistic period with which we are concerned – see Fantuzzi 1980: 443–8 and Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 37–41 for later and more marginal Hellenistic poems which seem more generically confusing or purely experimental.

[122] E.g. Hunter 1989: 36, Zanker 1977 (who thinks the *Hecale* is anti-Aristotelian).

[123] The most influential versions of this argument are those by Brink 1946: 14–19 and Pfeiffer 1968: 135–8, 143–6. Cf. also now Lowe 2001: 97–9 for a view of Callimachus as anti-Aristotelian in 'plotting'.

[124] For Aristotle the *mythos* should concern a unified, whole action, comprising of a logically/plausibly connected beginning, middle and end (*Poetics* 1450b23–6), which is also 'easily seen in one' (1451a4–6). Aristotle also enjoins that 'in the same way as in the rest of the representational [*mimetic*] arts a unified representation [*mimesis*] is of one thing, a plot, because it is the representation of an action, must be of a unified and whole action' (1451a30–2).

would imply rejection of the unity of the Homeric epics which Aristotle analyses and approves.[125] In my view, however, the *Aetia* prologue does not primarily concern epic, nor, therefore, epic unity.[126]

There is not sufficient space here to treat the entire topic of the relationship of Callimachean aesthetics to Aristotle,[127] but I am sceptical about the presence in the *Aetia* prologue of any reference to unity as a critical concept, which would imply that there is no explicit hostility in the *Aetia* prologue to an Aristotelian view of unity or an Aristotelian analysis of genre. Markus Asper is similarly sceptical, on the grounds that the phrase ἓν ἄεισμα διηνεκές ('one continuous song', fr. 1.3 Pf.), which is what the Telchines in the *Aetia* prologue have criticised Callimachus for not writing, cannot be equivalent to ἓν καὶ διηνεκὲς ἄεισμα ('a unified and continuous song'), which is how most scholars take it.[128] Asper argues that ἕν, 'one', must have a straightforward numerical meaning as numerical adjectives are normally used without καί, 'and', and there would be no way for a reader or hearer to recognise an implicit coordination of adjectives ('unified *and* continuous') without καί in the phrase ἓν ἄεισμα διηνεκές.[129] Hence Asper thinks what Callimachus has not produced is 'one continuous song' rather than 'a unified *and* continuous song'. We might, then, translate the explanation in the *Aetia* prologue for why the Telchines grumble at Callimachus, εἵνεκεν οὐχ ἓν ἄεισμα διηνεκές ... | ... ἤνυσα (fr. 1.3–4 Pf.), as 'because I have completed *not one* continuous song', or 'because I have not completed a single continuous song'. The Telchines complain

[125] Cf. 1451a16–35 on Homeric superiority with regard to unity over *Heracleids* and *Theseids*.

[126] Cf. below pp. 178–82.

[127] A full treatment of this topic would cover such subjects as the scope of the *Poetics* itself. The *Poetics* does not omit didactic poetry, lyric, elegy etc. because Aristotelian criticism was *hostile* to such genres (which lack *mythos* in Aristotle's sense, which denotes representations of people in action, 1448a1) as, e.g., Halliwell 1986: 283 suggests, but because of the implied superiority of tragedy and comedy, which are the peaks of development in their respective fields (1449a5–6). The superiority is not just one of more advanced form, but of effectiveness in moral education or *catharsis* (so Simpson 1988: 283–91). Such cathartic effectiveness is related directly to the presence of a *mythos*, representing people in action, hence Aristotle's concentration on those genres with an Aristotelian *mythos*. But this should imply no (aesthetic) criticism of the omitted genres. Important too is the alleged disappearance of Aristotle's 'esoteric' works in the Hellenistic period, and the dubious historicity of Strabo's account (13.1.54) of their survival in Scepsis. On the *argumentum ex silentio* for the disappearance of the *Poetics* see Else 1957: 337 n. 125, Lucas 1968: xxii–iii, Moraux 1973: 15 n. 36; on the problems with Strabo's account see Gottschalk 1972: 340–2 and 1987: 1083–8, and Grayeff 1974: 71–7. In any case, Aristotle's *On Poets* would have been available in Alexandria (Hunter 1993a: 192), and it was clearly also a work on genre and genre norms along the lines of the *Poetics* (Janko 1987: 175, 1991: 36–64).

[128] E.g. DeForest 1994: 28.

[129] Asper 1997: 213, cf. Kühner-Gerth 1898–1904: §405.4, Schwyzer-Debrunner 1959: 2.180f.

that Callimachus has *never* written an ἄεισμα διηνεκές, and compounds this fault by not having done so on this occasion either.[130]

But even if the 'oneness' of the song refers not directly to its number and refers instead to an internal unity of the song, it seems difficult to argue that this can pick out Aristotelian unity as the type approved by the Telchines, and hence rejected by Callimachus. Aristotelian unity, of course, was hardly the only conception of unity current in antiquity.[131] As Aristotle's discussion of unity itself reveals, striving for unity by basing one's narrative on a single person, for example, was common:

> a plot is not one by being about one person, as some people think, because innumerably many things happen to one person, from some of which there is no unity. (*Poetics* 1451a16–17)

Aristotle goes on to stress Homer's difference from the majority of poets, in his avoidance of this inferior 'unity of hero' in the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, and his preference for an Aristotelian unity of *mythos*. This unity of *mythos* is not the only nor the usual standard of unity we find in ancient epics, according to Aristotle. Nor do the Telchines sound to me like Peripatetic literary theorists.[132] As Asper points out, their strictures on content ('about kings (ἢ βασιλ[η, v. 3) or heroes (ἥρωας, v. 5)') and absolute length ('in many thousands of lines', ἐν πολλαῖς . . . χιλιάσιν, v. 4) have no parallel in the *Poetics*.[133] Indeed the mention of 'kings and heroes' is more reminiscent of the writers of *Heracleids* and *Theseids* whose notion of unity Aristotle rejects.

But perhaps, one might object, the description of the song Callimachus has not written as διηνεκές, 'continuous', fills out the reference to unity and points us to Aristotle? Unity and continuity are regularly paired in the scholarship on Callimachus and Aristotle,[134] but the two qualities are clearly distinct. Callimachus' rejection of continuity is not, in fact, anti-Aristotelian. Although Aristotle thinks that a tragedy should represent a

[130] Cf. Acosta-Hughes–Stephens 2001, who would conjecture ἔλεξα, 'I told', at the end of fr. 1.5 Pf., an aorist to match ἤνυσα, 'I completed', in v. 4. The Telchines would thus be looking *back* at what Callimachus has and has not written.

[131] See in general Heath 1989.

[132] See Stephens 2002: 243–6 for the important suggestion that the 'one continuous song' the Telchines want may be meant to associate them with Egyptian music. She notes Herodotus' description of the Egyptian Linus song as ἄεισμα ἕν, '[only] one song', which is described as their earliest and only song, which has not changed or been added to over the years. This uniformity and invariability would thus *not* be associated with the *Aetia*. She also notes how Egypt in the prologue is placed on the negative side of the antitheses developed in the *Aetia* prologue. Cf. on these antitheses Acosta-Hughes–Stephens 2002: 240–5, who also show how the characterisation of the Telchines in the *Aetia* prologue develops their chthonic nature and primitiveness, and emphasises their unmusicality. They are a long way from the Lyceum.

[133] Cf. Asper 1997: 213–15. [134] E.g. Lyne 1984: 17, Pfeiffer 1968: 137.

whole action, i.e. one with a beginning, a middle and an end (1450b23–6),[135] and that fineness of *mythos* lies in order as well as magnitude (1450b36–51a6), so that the *mythos* must have these elements *in order*, it does not follow that a work as a whole, epic or tragedy, should proceed in chronological order or without a narrative break or pause (there is more than one type of continuity/discontinuity). This is because Aristotle's comments on order apply to the *mythos* and *not* to the whole work. The *mythos* is the soul of a work,[136] but also only a small part of it. This is clear from Aristotle's summary of the *mythos* of the *Odyssey*:

> Someone has been abroad for many years, persecuted by Poseidon, and is alone. Furthermore, the situation at home means that his property is being squandered by suitors and his son conspired against. After much suffering he reaches home, and reveals himself to certain people. He attacks, is himself saved and destroys his enemies. (1455b17–23)

Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐπεισόδια, 'everything else is episodes' (1455b23). As long as they are οἰκεῖα or 'integral' (1455b13) such episodes are an important part of a poem or drama. Episodes mean that the order of a work with a unified *mythos* need not be simple. This is confirmed by the practice of Homer, the approved model of epic in the *Poetics*. The *Odyssey* is not chronologically continuous, rather a large part is told in 'flashback' by Odysseus. The content of this flashback (e.g. the encounter with the Cyclops) is, as the plot summary shows, principally composed of 'episodes', which do not form part of the *Odyssey*'s *mythos*. Requirements about the order and unity of the *mythos* do not apply (straightforwardly) to the whole text, episodes and all, because the *mythos* is not the whole text.

The word for 'continuous' in the *Aetia* prologue, διηνεκές, seems to refer primarily to fullness of detail and chronological continuity.[137] Cameron, for example, points out that it is not a standard rhetorical term, and that its closest parallels in poetry are the Homeric formula διηνεκέως ἀγορεύειν, 'tell from beginning to end' (*Od.* 4.836, 7.241, 12.56),[138] and the same phrase used more negatively in the *Argonautica* (at 1.649, 2.391 and 3.401).[139] Aristotle does not approve of this kind of continuity, nor is it a feature of his approved Homeric models.[140]

[135] Cf. n. 124 above. [136] Cf. 1458a38–9.
[137] Cf., e.g., Koster 1970: 117–19, Newman 1974: 355, Hunter 1993a: 190–5, Asper 1997: 218–22.
[138] Cf. Cameron 1995: 343–4. [139] Cf. Newman 1974: 355.
[140] Hunter 1993a: 193 makes the intriguing suggestion that ἕν and διηνεκές are opposite good and bad qualities from an Aristotelian point of view, suggesting the incoherence of the Telchines' criticisms. Such ingenuity would be typical of Callimachus, but I still doubt ἕν on its own can point to Aristotelian unity.

Might there be other ancient literary theorists of more significance for the analysis of Hellenistic poetry and attitudes to genre than Aristotle? The recently published edition of Philodemus' *On Poems* 1 at last provides an intelligible text of several Hellenistic literary critics,[141] many of whom are relevant for the study of Hellenistic (and Ciceronian and Augustan Latin) poetry. Most important with regard to genre is one Heracleodorus. This critic is unknown outside the Philodemus papyri,[142] and dates perhaps from the second half of the third century BC.[143] He is a euphonist, that is he finds the aesthetic value of poetry to reside in its sound, specifically in the sound that supervenes upon the word order of a poem: 'One must conclude that the euphony which supervenes is the particularity, but the contents and the words are outside (the art) and are common' (fr. 29 Janko).[144] This position leads to a rejection of genre divisions and distinctions of style as relevant to the merit of poetry.[145] Heracleodorus argues that there is no genre-specific diction or content, and that individual poets' styles cannot be distinguished:[146]

τὴν μὲν ἐπικήν, ἑ]τέ[ρ]α[ν δὲ τρ]α[γικήν, ἄλ]λη[ν] δ' ἰ[α]μβικὴν ἢ [κω]μι[κ]ὴν ἢ τίν' ὅλως [ἔ]νιοι λέγο̣[υ]σι',[147] καὶ τὸ 'μηδὲ νοήματα διαφέρειν τὰ κ[ωμικὰ καὶ τρα[γ]ικὰ καὶ μ̣[ελ]ικά',[148] καὶ τὸ 'μηδεμίαν [δ]ιάλεκτον κ[ω]λύειν τὸν ἀγαθὸν πο[η]τὴν διαφαίνειν κα[τα]σκευὴν [ἣ]ν ἂν ἕλητ[αι] ποεῖν', καὶ τὸ 'μηδ[ὲ] χαρακτῆρας ἰδιωθ[ῆ]ναι τῶν ποητῶν'[149]

['(*sc.* nor is there) one diction which is epic, another tragic], another which is iambic, or comic, or whatever, in short, some people say', and that 'comic, tragic and lyric contents do not differ (from each other)', and that 'no (kind of) speech prevents the good poet from making obvious the form which he chooses to create', and that 'poet's styles are not individuated'. (*On Poems* 1. 192.13–24)

[141] Janko 2000. [142] Cf. Janko 2000: 155.

[143] Janko 2000: 165 places Heracleodorus in the late third century, on the grounds that he is a more radical euphonist than the preceding target in *On Poems* 1, Andromenides, but less so than the following Pausimachus of Miletus, suggesting that Crates' handbook, on which the order of *On Poems* 1 is based, was arranged chronologically. But there is considerable room for doubt about Heracleodorus' date.

[144] This fragment is from *P.Herc.* 1676.col.6.2–7, from *On Poems* 2 (not yet republished). Cf. also T1 Janko: 'Crates misunderstands the views of Heracleodorus and those who share them; for they praise not the composition, but the sound which supervenes upon it.' (*On Poems* 5.col.24.27–32).

[145] See Janko 2000: 155–6.

[146] The fragments of Heracleodorus come from a context where Philodemus is quoting and attacking the views which he cites – in many cases the subject and the content can be supplemented from other parts of the *On Poems*, where Philodemus recapitulates.

[147] = fr. 2 Janko, the rejection of diction varying with genre.

[148] = fr. 3 Janko, the rejection of content varying with genre.

[149] = fr. 5 Janko, poets' styles as not differentiated.

Indeed poetry is not divisible according to verse-forms, according to Heracleodorus: ὅλης ποητικῆς [ἁμε]ροῦς ὑπ[αρ]χούση[ς, κα]τά τε μέ[τρ]α, 'the entire art of poetry is indivisible, both according to verse-forms . . .'.[150] Obscurity and irrelevance are permissible (because aesthetic value resides only in sound): 'The verses are obscure, but enthral us all the same'.[151] The collapsing of generic distinctions by Heracleodorus, and the embracing of obscurity, have recently been connected with the practice of Hellenistic poets:[152]

> [Heracleodorus'] advocacy of the mixture of dialects, styles, and genres, and of fine-sounding but not necessarily intelligible σύνθεσις,[153] finds its antecedent in the practice of poets like Callimachus and Lycophron.

Close attention to the practice of Hellenistic poets in adapting earlier poets and genres will help to determine how accurate this characterisation is. I shall consider whether Callimachus could have been the inspiration for euphonist critics such as Heracleodorus, and examine how Hellenistic 'obscurity' operates. But I am sceptical about there being any close parallel between Callimachean practice and Herocleodoran theory. Callimachus is not hostile to genre, I have argued, and his generic experimentation is not capricious or arbitrary. There are also clear differences in style and metre between different poems of Callimachus. Could Callimachus, however, be concerned to produce fine-sounding clauses at the expense of sense? Acosta-Hughes and Stephens have recently analysed the sounds of the *Aetia* prologue,[154] and have found clear examples of acoustic effects,[155] such as a combination of dental and palatal sounds associated with the Telchines and their criticism: Τελχῖνες (v. 1), Τε[λ]χῖσιν (v. 7), τήκ[ειν] (v. 8), τίκτεσθαι· βροντᾶν (v. 20).[156] But these effects are closely tied to the sense of the prologue – they exemplify the Telchines' 'croaking' (ἐπιτρύζουσιν, v. 1) against Callimachus,[157] and suggest an etymology of Telchines from τήκειν, 'waste away'. I do not see, in this case at least, Callimachus privileging sound over sense.

[150] *On Poems* 1.210.20–2 = fr. 17 Janko. [151] Fr. 20 Janko = *P.Herc.* 1676 fr. 3.20–2, from *On Poems* 2.
[152] By the editor of Philodemus' *On Poems* 1 himself – Janko 2000: 164.
[153] *Sunthesis*: 'word order' or 'word arrangement'. [154] Cf. Acosta-Hughes–Stephens 2002.
[155] Cf. also Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 456, who suggest the critical obsession in the critics Philodemus attacks in the *On Poems* with euphony 'is in complete sympathy with the concern of Hellenistic poets for acoustic effects'. But such effects are not the exclusive aim of Hellenistic poets, as they are of the euphonist critics.
[156] Acosta-Hughes–Stephens 2002: 241. [157] See Cameron 1995: 340.

NARRATOLOGY, PRIMARY NARRATORS AND QUASI-BIOGRAPHY

Any study of narrators or narrative must take account of the work of theorists of narrative such as Bal, Genette and Chatman.[158] I shall make some of the problems, limitations and advantages of their approach clear.

The most basic of the distinctions which they employ, which I shall also take up, is that between the story (roughly, the sequence of actions or events of a narrative, along with the characters in those events) and the discourse (roughly, the particular expression of those actions or events).[159] The story is what a narrative is about, the discourse how it is told.[160] In narrative, as opposed to dramatic, works the events of the story are communicated to the audience by the narrator through his discourse. He is to be conceived of as having direct access to the story, and acts as a mediator between the audience and the story.[161] Narratologists carefully distinguish this narrator, who speaks and relates the narrative to the audience, from the 'real author', the flesh-and-blood creator of a text, and some also distinguish the 'implied author', the version of the author implied by the text and constructed by the reader from the text.[162] The difference between real and implied author becomes clear when one compares the different impressions of the author a reader receives (different 'implied authors') from different works by the same real author.[163]

Modern narratology is generally characterised as a structuralist enterprise, based on various structuralist and semiotic assumptions,[164] and part of an attempt to isolate the necessary components of a narrative.[165] One might attack such a project with such a basis in whole or in part. Culler, for

[158] Chatman 1978, Genette 1980, Bal 1985.

[159] The narratological terminology for story and discourse varies with each narratologist. I employ the terms used by Chatman 1978 and taken up by Richardson 1990 on the Homeric narrator. Bal 1985: 5 terms Chatman's *story* the 'fabula', and his *discourse* the 'story'. Genette 1980: 27 uses *histoire* (translated 'story' in Genette 1980) for Chatman's *story*, *récit* (translated 'narrative' in Genette 1980) for *discourse*. I disregard his third category of 'narrating' (French *narration*, cf. Bal's third category of 'narrative text'), on the problems of which see below pp. 28–9 and n. 172. The story–discourse distinction goes back to the Russian Formalists, on whom see Chatman 1978: 19–20, Laird 1999: 46, Lowe 2001: 5–6.

[160] Cf. Chatman 1978: 19, 23–4.

[161] Cf. Chatman 1978: 33–4.

[162] Cf. Chatman 1978: 147–51. There is also a corresponding distinction, which I do not employ in this book, between the various receivers of a narrative: the real, flesh-and-blood, reader, the implied reader, and the narratee. See Chatman 1978: 149–51.

[163] Cf. Chatman 1978: 148, who follows Booth 1961: 71–3 in giving the example of the different implied authors of *Joseph Andrews*, *Jonathan Wild* and *Amelia*, which all share the same real author (Henry Fielding).

[164] E.g. explicitly by Chatman 1978: 17–34.

[165] Bal 1985: 8–10.

example, argues that the assumption of a story as an independent, quasi-real entity prior to the discourse ignores cases where the events themselves, constituents of the story, are presented as products of forces within the discourse (e.g. the guilt of Oedipus in *Oedipus Rex* as a necessary result of the interweaving of prophecies, the narrative coherence and the tragic force of the play, all aspects of the discourse).[166] This casts into doubt the whole project of creating a 'science of narrative' based on the priority of story to discourse.[167] Herrnstein Smith has also challenged this dichotomy of story and discourse in similar fashion, objecting to the notion that a single basic story can be abstracted out of a given discourse, without itself being one further discourse or version of the narrative being summarised or studied, which does not exclude other further versions or 'basic stories'.[168] The assumption that for any narrative there must be at least one and no more than one set of events arranged in linear or chronological order is misplaced, she suggests, and such a rearrangement of events would simply be another version or telling of these events, with no claim to priority over any other.[169]

Further attacks on the structuralist roots of narratology have been directed against the tendency to overschematise texts in geometric terms,[170] and the claim for the universal nature of various structural phenomena.[171] Narratologists themselves have become uncomfortable with certain distinctions within their systems, such as that between the discourse and the idea of the text or medium in which this discourse is presented to the audience.[172] We might also make various (e.g. Wittgensteinian) objections to the idea that narrative is a communication,[173] or is exhaustively defined by such a statement, or that it and its constituent elements have a 'meaning'.[174]

But, as Culler comments in his remarks on the priority of story to discourse, distinguishing between them is still a fruitful and indispensable way of proceeding,[175] and doubts about the 'science of narrative' as a whole do not invalidate such a distinction. One is not committed to accepting the

[166] Culler 1981: 169–87. [167] Culler 1981: 186–7.
[168] Herrnstein Smith 1980: 221–2. Cf. also Laird 1999: 46–63. [169] Herrnstein Smith 1980: 228–31.
[170] Particularly clear, e.g., in Bal 1985 and de Jong 1987. [171] Cf. Gibson 1996: 5.
[172] Cf. Lowe 2001: 17–22 on this problem of distinguishing, e.g., between Genette's *récit* (discourse) and the further category of *narration*, 'narrating' (cf. n. 159 above). How can the way a story is presented (the discourse) be separated from the medium in which it is presented? This has precipitated a 'crisis' in narratology. See Lowe 2001 for a cognitivist, neo-Aristotelian response to this crisis.
[173] E.g. Chatman 1978: 28.
[174] Cf. Chatman 1978: 22–7. What is Tristram Shandy in *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* 'communicating' (not much of the life, at any rate)? Does a joke 'communicate meaning' between teller and hearer?
[175] Culler 1981: 172.

entire superstructure by recognising the validity of a distinction between the author of a work and its narrator, or that between the content of a narrative and the way it is expressed. As Herrnstein Smith notes, even if we cannot sustain the idea of a conceptually prior story abstracted from a discourse, plot summaries or chronological rearrangements of the events in a narrative can still be useful tools.[176] Accordingly I shall make occasional use of narratological distinctions, definitions and terminology, while attempting to avoid the obscurity which some narratological jargon can bring, and endeavouring to build a more complete and comprehensive picture of individual narrators than has often been the case in overly formalist narratological writing.[177]

As I mentioned above, my study will concern primary narrators of various kinds in Archaic and Hellenistic poetry, not secondary or embedded narrators, nor texts of a dramatic or mimetic nature, such as Theocritus *Idyll* 1.[178] I shall, however, deal with primary narrators whether they are characters in their narratives (e.g. the narrator of Archilochus fr. 196a W.), or stand outside their narratives, as in the *Iliad*.[179] I shall also deal with monologues delivered by a character who is therefore the primary narrator, even where the discourse purports to be a description of the events of the story as they happen (e.g. Theocritus *Idyll* 3).[180]

All the narrators with whom I shall be dealing we find towards the overt end of the scale of 'narrator-prominence',[181] where the narrator's presence or mediating role between story and audience is marked to some degree. The clearest indications of narratorial prominence include explicit commentary on the events or characters in the story, first-person statements by the narrator, addresses by the narrator to the characters in the story, exclamations or other emotional reactions to the narrative etc. Even the Homeric narrator, whom critics often characterise as 'objective' in various senses,[182] and who can be described in general as 'self-effacing',[183] displays on occasion the most forceful markers of a narrator's presence. He

[176] Herrnstein Smith 1980: 221.

[177] A notable exception, in the avoidance of technical jargon, is Richardson 1990 on Homer, though he is still criticised by Goldhill 1991b for an overly formalist adherence to categories.

[178] In terms of Genette's 'narrative levels', I deal with narrators who are 'extradiegetic' narrators, but not (exclusively) 'intradiegetic' ones (Genette 1980: 228–31).

[179] In Genette's terms the narrator of Archilochus' Cologne Epode (fr. 196a W.) is 'homodiegetic', Homer 'heterodiegetic' (Genette 1980: 243–5, who picks out the Iliadic narrator as an example of the latter type).

[180] Note de Jong 2004a: 8 (followed by Harder 2004: 63, Hunter 2004: 83), who treats such narrators as effectively secondary narrators, regarding the primary narrator as being suppressed.

[181] Chatman's concept (1978: 146–266), used by Richardson 1990 as the organising principle of his work.

[182] Cf. the survey in de Jong 1987: 14–26.

[183] Cf. below pp. 45–6.

comments, for example, on Glaucus' foolishness in exchanging his armour with Diomedes (*Il.* 6.234–6), invokes the Muse at the beginning of both epics (including the use of the first-person form μοι, 'to me', at *Od.* 1.1), and makes frequent addresses to Patroclus in book 16 of the *Iliad*.[184] Hence even those narrators who are relatively unprominent when compared to the intrusive narrators of Callimachus' *Aetia* or Hesiod's *Works and Days* are still a mediating presence between story and audience. We shall not meet any narratives where the narrator is so self-effacing and minimally mediating that nothing is recorded beyond the speech or verbalised thoughts of the characters,[185] so that one can term them 'nonnarrated'.[186]

One important way in which a narrator can come to an audience's attention is by showing signs of existing outside the narrative he is telling, of having a 'life'. Such signs might include a name, a nationality or home town, a self-description, being part of a community or family, particular beliefs or opinions etc. I shall term such 'biographical' information 'quasi-biography', that is any reference to an 'external' or extratextual life for the narrator beyond a straightforward capacity to tell a story. When the narrator of the *Works and Days* tells us that he has sailed only once, from Euboea to Aulis, where he won a victory in song (vv. 650ff.), this draws the audience's attention to him, and forms a good example of suggesting an extratextual life. Such quasi-biography is a prominent feature in the characterisation of overt narrators in Pindar, Callimachus' *Aetia* and even, in a slightly altered sense, the *Argonautica*, but it is largely avoided by the relatively unobtrusive Homeric narrator.[187]

Quasi-biography is particularly important in texts where there seems to be a degree of overlap between narrator and real or historical author (e.g. Hesiod's *Theogony* or the *Works and Days*), where it is of central importance to establish the precise relationship of the narrator to the author of the text.[188] In such cases the implied author which the reader/audience constructs will closely resemble the historical author, at least for an audience familiar with the historical author. For audiences unfamiliar with the real author, or relying only on texts by the author for their information about him, there is no way of being sure that the real author was in fact

[184] Cf. below pp. 91–2. See also Richardson 1990: 167–96 on the most prominent signs of Homeric narratorial presence.

[185] Cf. Chatman 1978: 166. [186] Chatman 1978: 147. [187] Cf. below pp. 45–6.

[188] Of course, the narrator of a text ought never to be (fully) identified with the historical author. Cf. Bal 1985: 119, Genette 1980: 213. De Jong 1987: 7–8 interprets Aristotle at *Poetics* 1460a5–11 as making 'the first step in distinguishing between author (poet) and narrator'. In some cases, of course, the primary narrator is clearly distinct from the author – most obviously when the narrator is a character within the work but the author is someone very different (Pip in *Great Expectations* is not Dickens).

anything like he portrays himself in the text. This is the situation in which we find ourselves, at least with regard to the majority of Archaic authors.[189] Nevertheless, it seems likely that the majority of Archaic primary narrators are in fact related to some degree to the historical authors who produced them, though this varies with author and genre.[190] In any case, that the narrator resembles the implied author in texts such as the *Works and Days* is written into the text, and that they both resemble the real author is the audience's usual assumption.[191]

An obvious way of associating a narrator with the historical author is to make narratorial quasi-biography coincide with facts about the author's life, e.g. the fact that Hesiod is the brother of one Perses (*Op.* 633) or had a very brief sailing career (*Op.* 650ff.), which seem to reflect or distort actual facts about the historical author's life.[192] The degree of identification or overlap can vary. Given an audience aware that a particular poet is the author of a particular poem there will be a disposition among them to identify the poet with the speaker of any first-person statements not explicitly or obviously assigned to someone else. In particular, unassigned first-person narratives about the past seem autobiographical (the 'autobiographical assumption'):

> first person narratives of past events . . . not embedded in a wider context are rare in Greek poetry . . . If the narrating first person is not explained or embedded, then such poetry looks (auto)-biographical.[193]

The identification can, however, be more explicit – narrator and real author may share a nationality, as in Pindar (most obviously at *I.* 1.1–3),

[189] Cf. Lefkowitz 1981 on the unreliability of many of the ancient biographies of ancient poets, which tend to depend heavily on biographical (over-)interpretation of the poets' work, rather than independent evidence. The situation is better with regard to the Hellenistic poets (compare the biographies of Homer with the fact that Apollonius was Chief Librarian of the Alexandrian Library), but there is also much dubious information in the *Lives* of Hellenistic poets.

[190] Cf. below pp. 45–61. In other words, I do not think that most Archaic primary narrators are entirely fictional characters, but that they are usually fictionalised (to varying degrees) versions of the historical author. Archaic *iambos*, particularly Hipponax, may be an exception, and it is important to realise that the length, context and content of poetry may have played a key role in audience expectations about the relationship of narrator to author in the Archaic period (Bowie 1993: 36). Political trimeters may have implied a closer relationship, and a greater faithfulness, to the historical author's opinions, while drinking songs might have been taken by the same audience as invented and the narrator much further from the historical author.

[191] Oddly enough, narratorial quasi-biography and the relationship of narrator to author remains understudied in scholarship on ancient narrative, e.g. in de Jong–Nünlist–Bowie 2004, where these topics are not prominent (e.g. the sex of the narrator in Call. *H.* 5 and *H.* 6).

[192] Though Perses has been thought to be fictional (Bowie 1993: 23). See West 1978: 33–40 for a review of the evidence and earlier views. It is of course possible that 'Hesiod' was *not* the name of the historical author of the *Theogony*.

[193] Hunter 1999: 144, cf. Bowie 1985: 67.

or a name, as where the *Theogony*'s narrator is explicitly identified as Hesiod (Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν, 'they taught Hesiod beautiful song', v. 22, and τόνδε δέ με πρώτιστα θεαὶ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπον, 'first of all the goddesses spoke to me as follows', v. 24). It is important to realise that I am not suggesting that we should interpret these statements as straightforward biographical statements about the real author's life. What is important, from our point of view, is not their truth value, but the specific narrative or aesthetic purpose they serve. Hence, whether they are 'true' or not in their extrapoetic contexts, within a poem we can best describe them as 'quasi-autobiographical'.

When a narrator makes a statement or otherwise implies a close relationship with the author, we should see the narrator as a 'projection', version or closely connected persona of the poet (in Pindar's case, a Theban, a poet etc.). Clearly, because certain facts are true both of the historical poet and the projection or persona, it does not follow that everything true or alleged to be true of the latter will hold for the former.[194] When Pindar declares that girls often sing to the Great Mother and Pan before his door at night (*P.* 3.77–9), this is not evidence that there was a shrine next to his house. The criterion for such statements is not truth but plausibility.[195] We should focus our attention on what purpose such a statement serves in the context of the poem, how it suits Pindar to characterise his persona in this way. Pindar cannot make ridiculous claims for his projection within the odes, statements which are plainly false, but he can exploit plausible falsities (or inaccuracies) for encomiastic and literary purposes.[196]

It is partly to foreground the importance of the relationship of narrator and author in many of the texts I study in this book that I employ the term 'narrator' for the main speaking voice in a poem, rather than 'poet', 'speaker', 'persona' or similar. The often close relationship between narrator and author can be obscured by using 'speaker', while 'poet' implies identity.[197] My approach does, of course, owe much to work on the 'persona' or 'mask', particularly as developed in the study of Roman

[194] Cf. Genette 1980: 28.

[195] We should also remember the capacity of poets to lie, or tell plausible falsehoods, as advertised, e.g., by Callimachus *H.* 1.65.

[196] Note that Pindar can use his narrator in the epinicians, a projection of the historical author, to associate himself (the historical Pindar) with his victors and express his ξενία or 'friendship' for them, with obvious 'real-world' as well as intratextual advantages. See in general on the manipulations of the Pindaric narrator Carey 1995: 85–103 and 2000: 165–77.

[197] Note that Schmitz 1999: 158–9 uses the term 'implied author' to denote the narrator (in my sense) in the *Aetia* prologue and mark his close relationship to the real author. But the term is used differently in much narratological writing (e.g. Chatman 1978, Richardson 1990) and is liable to confuse.

satire.[198] Some applications, however, of the concept of the persona imply too strong a disjunction between speaking voice and author.[199] I believe employing more explicitly narratological terminology makes analysis of the main speaking voices of Archaic and Hellenistic poetry easier.[200] I shall refer to primary narrators who are closely grounded on the historical author of the text in which they appear by using the convention of quotation marks around the name of the author, so that 'Callimachus' will refer to the biographically grounded narrator of several of the *Iambi*, for example, while Callimachus will refer to the historical Callimachus. I also extend the use of the term 'narrator' to include the persona of the poet in parts of poems where he is not narrating a series of events, where these come in a poem which does contain a narrative.[201] Such sections are often very important in the creation of the persona of the narrator, so that the author can exploit the persona thus created in the more straightforwardly narrative parts of the poem.[202]

Some critics have challenged the distinction between narrator and author as anachronistic when applied to ancient literature, in particular Pindar. D'Alessio, for example, urges that:

> *Any* [my italics] distinction between the author's literary portrait and his 'real', or 'biographical' image is anachronistic.[203]

He objects to derogatory comparisons between scholarly inference about Pindar from his poems and the misguided derivation of biographical data about Housman from *A Shropshire Lad* (Housman shares neither name nor county with his narrator).[204] D'Alessio points out that Pindar's literary persona cannot be divorced from his social persona, and argues that Pindar's audiences really believed in his closeness to the gods, for example, which was one reason they were honoured when he praised them.[205] It is an

[198] See in general on the persona theory and its development Winkler 1983: 4–12, Iddeng 2000: 107–9.

[199] E.g. the common description of the primary narrator of much Roman satire as 'the satirist', as in Freudenburg 1993. The persona theory developed as a reaction against overly biographical criticism, see on this Anderson 1982: 3–10, Winkler 1983: 4–7.

[200] Adopting such terminology, which can help to foreground the relationship of narrator and author, may be an adequate response to recent (misguided) challenges to the persona theory on the basis of its implied strong disjunction between main speaking voice and author. See for such challenges Iddeng 2000, Mayer 2003.

[201] The boundaries between the narrative and other sections of the poem can also be blurred, as in Pindar's epinicians, on which see Pfeijffer 2004: 215–16.

[202] E.g. where 'Pindar' emphasises his closeness to Thorax, who probably commissioned the ode, outside the myth at *P.* 10.64–6, which supports the sincerity of his praise, and the truth of his mythological narrative. See on the need for Pindaric narratorial sincerity Carey 1995: 93–7, Scodel 1996: 69.

[203] D'Alessio 1994a: 138. [204] E.g. Lefkowitz 1991: 96. [205] D'Alessio 1994a: 139.

exaggeration, however, to claim that there is no disjunction between narrator and author in Pindar, although D'Alessio is right to point out that we cannot divide completely Pindar's literary persona and his social (or real authorial) figure. One is certainly grounded on the other – Pindar's narrator in the epinicians certainly seems to exploit facts about Pindar's biography.[206]

But the impression of extempore composition in Pindar's epinicians, exemplified by the break-off of an apparent digression at *P.* 11.38ff., demonstrates the separation of narrator and author:

> ἦρ', ὦ φίλοι, κατ' ἀμευσίπορον τρίοδον ἐδινάθην;
>
> Is it, friends, that at the crossroads where paths meet I got confused?

The impression is only possible because the audience knows that the author has not really 'gone astray', and that this is a carefully constructed pose taken up by the narrator.[207] Similarly, self-corrections by the Pindaric narrator (artfully composed by the author), and transitions and connections which seem arbitrary on the level of the narrator, but which are clearly part of a greater authorial design,[208] advertise the difference between author and narrator, and the applicability of the distinction to Archaic poetry.[209] The corresponding exploitation of the difference in the *Aetia* prologue demonstrates its validity for Hellenistic poetry. 'Callimachus', the narrator, can do things Callimachus, the historical author, cannot, such as converse with Apollo.[210]

The distinction between implied author and narrator has in turn been criticised recently as overcomplicated and unnecessary or inapplicable to ancient epic, in particular the *Argonautica*,[211] because, so the argument goes, it is usually very difficult to distinguish between the narrator and the implied author in such texts. On this view, ancient epic is less likely to exhibit a conflict between the values or norms of the (implied) author and those of the narrator. This is the situation of the 'unreliable narrator', where the distinction between implied author and narrator is most evident.[212] While a close identity of values is certainly apparent in Homer, so that the narrator–implied author distinction is not very important for

[206] E.g. at *P.* 3.77–9, see above p. 32. [207] Cf. Scodel 1996: 67.
[208] E.g. the narrator's 'associative transition', with no explicit connection with what precedes, into the myth of Aeacus' part in building the Trojan walls in *O.* 8.31ff., which is of obvious relevance in an Aeginetan ode, hence its inclusion by the author. Cf. Miller 1993: 25–6.
[209] Cf. below pp. 67–73. [210] Cf. Schmitz 1999: 158, 161 and below pp. 178–82.
[211] See Byre 1991: 216, Fusillo 1985: 382. [212] So Chatman 1978: 148–9.

analysis of the *Iliad*,[213] this is hardly the case for the *Argonautica*. DeForest, for example, argues that we should make a strong distinction between Apollonius and the 'Callimachean' narrator of his poem, a pedant, who mocks Homer (though the poet does not), and whose literary goals are not the same as the poet's.[214] In short, the narrator of the *Argonautica* is 'unreliable'.[215] While I disagree with the details of DeForest's analysis, the distinction between the implied author and the narrator is important in the analysis of Apollonius – the narrator is portrayed as undergoing a crisis of confidence and doubts about his own abilities,[216] in contrast to the implied author, who has engineered his narrator's crisis for his own literary and aesthetic purposes.

[213] Cf. Richardson 1990: 4: 'Because the Homeric narrator is reliable and without question the implied author's spokesman, the distinction between them is negligible in practice.'
[214] DeForest 1994: 7–11.
[215] DeForest 1994: 91–2. According to DeForest 1994: 151 the narrator is scared of Medea (as expressed at A.R. 4.1673–5) – surely we ought not to attribute a similar timidity to the implied author?
[216] Cf. ch. 5 below.

CHAPTER 2

Archaic narrative and narrators

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not meant as a complete or exhaustive study of all aspects of Archaic narrative, but as a general introduction to Archaic primary narrators, and as a survey of the main features relevant for a study of the adaptation of Archaic narrative models in the early Hellenistic poets. It concentrates on the use in Archaic poets of quasi-biography, the development of consistent narratorial personas across an author's corpus,[1] the relationship of such a narratorial persona to the historical author's biography, the creation of an impression of extempore composition by the narrator, the depiction of the narrator's relationship with the Muses, and characteristics such as the use of emotional and evaluative language by the primary narrator. These features, which are those which most clearly draw attention to the presence of a narrating voice, are the most important elements which Archaic poets use in the construction of their primary narrators. Hence they are the best means by which to obtain a clear sense of the nature and variety of Archaic primary narrators. They are also the features of Archaic narrators which Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius employ most widely, and hence they can best demonstrate their interest in, and exploitation of, Archaic narrators and narrative. While narratorial use of quasi-biography, emotional and evaluative language etc. is more common in poets other than Homer, whose narrative techniques and use of the narrator have been well studied,[2] I shall still regularly refer to the Homeric epics, as good comparative material and models (to avoid as well as to emulate) for both Archaic and Hellenistic poets.

[1] This would be particularly clear to Hellenistic poets reading an Archaic poet's work collected together in a book roll or set of rolls.

[2] E.g. de Jong 1987, Richardson 1990. Cf. also now the summary in de Jong 2004b.

I begin by discussing general issues of the transmission and performance of Archaic poetry, in order to re-examine whether we should posit as sharp a break between the character and context of Hellenistic poetry as opposed to earlier Greek literature as some critics have urged, and to determine to what extent the differences between Hellenistic and earlier Greek poetry are a result of changes in the way poetry was performed or received.

PERFORMANCE, TEXTUALITY AND DISCONTINUITY

There is widespread critical agreement that the poetry of the Hellenistic period is very different from that of preceding Classical and Archaic literature in a number of ways (e.g. in its sense of rupture from the past,[3] and the consequent nature and degree of its allusiveness,[4] or its subject matter and audience[5]). Some critics have thought that there should be a corresponding rupture in the critical approaches we should employ as we 'cannot approach fifth-century Athenian literature with the same critical positions one employs not only for Alexandrian but all other literature in the Western tradition'.[6] The 'radical discontinuity', as Cameron describes it,[7] which such critics posit they argue to be the result of a complex of various events and developments, e.g. the political upheavals and restructuring of the Greek world in the fourth century.[8] I have no desire to argue against the importance of the historical and political changes between the fifth and the third century as part of the general explanation for the characteristics of self-consciously epigonal Hellenistic poetry,[9] clearly different in many ways from earlier Greek literature. But one feature in particular which appears prominently in many conceptions of the rupture between Hellenistic poetry and the past deserves further reconsideration. This is the 'bookishness' of the Hellenistic period, the 'book culture' of third century in contrast to the 'song culture' of the fifth and earlier centuries.[10] The tendency to explain the distinctiveness of Hellenistic poetry as a result of its being the poetry of and for readers of texts, not listeners to songs, is widespread,[11] although Cameron has recently challenged the view that the primary Hellenistic

[3] See Selden 1998 on the displacements which gave birth to Alexandria, and characterise at least Callimachus' poetry. On the sense of cultural isolation in Alexandria, see also Zanker 1987: 19–26.
[4] See Bing 1988: 73–5. [5] Bulloch 1985b: 543. [6] Beye 1982: 4.
[7] Cameron 1995: 27, criticising this view. [8] Cf. Bulloch 1985b: 543. [9] Cf. Bing 1988: 62.
[10] See Herington 1985: 3–4, Bing 1988: 46–7.
[11] See, e.g., Bulloch 1985b: 543, Bing 1988: 10–17, DeForest 1994: 18–25.

reception of literature was as text.[12] Among the features of Hellenistic poetry which the 'book culture' is thought to explain are the marginalisation of heroes and the avoidance of a 'heavy' style,[13] and some of the experimentation with voice and narrator.[14]

It is clear, of course, that third-century poetry is much more self-conscious about being 'written',[15] at least in some genres on some occasions,[16] than poetry from the middle of the fifth century, for example.[17] It also self-consciously marks itself out as 'coming after' (and, therefore, as different) in its attitude to earlier literature,[18] and this epigonal status has profound consequences for the types of poetry produced and their various characteristics.[19] But differences in the performance and reception of Hellenistic poetry cannot in themselves explain the character of Hellenistic poetry, such as its allusiveness, play with voices or depiction of character. In many ways, in fact, the patterns of the dissemination of Archaic/early Classical poetry and Hellenistic poetry are analogous, though different. Barbantani has recently re-emphasised performance or recitation at court as the initial context for which Callimachus and others designed their poetry,[20] followed by an afterlife ἐν βίβλοις ('in books').[21] But Pindar's epinician poetry, for example, also displays a double pattern – after an initial public (probably choral) performance it signals its future

[12] Cameron 1995: 44–70, who urges the continuing importance of performance in the Hellenistic period. For a critique of Cameron's approach and a restatement of the importance of reading for the reception of Hellenistic poetry see Bing 2000.

[13] See Bing 1988: 46–8.

[14] See Bing 1993a: 189–94 on the complexities of voice in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*.

[15] E.g. in the close association of Calliope and the historian Xenomedes at Callimachus, *Aetia* fr. 75.76–7 Pf., or 'the song which I recently set in tablets (ἐν δέλτοισιν) on my knees' in v. 3 of the obviously Hellenistic or later *Batrachomyomachia*. See further Bing 1988: 18–19, 27–8.

[16] Cf. Bruss 2004, who argues for an 'oralist' Callimachean narrator, e.g. in the *Aetia*, who for the most part maintains the fiction of oral sources, performance and transmission. We find this impression of 'orality', rather than an emphasis on 'writtenness', in Callimachus' *Hymns* and Apollonius' *Argonautica*. The sources in the Catalogue of Argonauts, for example, are presented as oral (e.g. 'singers (ἀοιδοί) relate . . .', A.R. 1.59), even if Apollonius 'really' read them in the Library.

[17] Though, of course, poets like Pindar almost certainly used writing in the production of their poems – cf. Davison 1962: 147–54, Havelock 1963: 39, Williamson 1990: 61–79, Thomas 1992: 115. There is also some evidence that patrons or cities kept written copies of epinician odes as heirlooms or valuable objects, as in the case of *Olympian* 7 (Σ ad *O.* 7, Drachmann 1903–27: I.195.13–14).

[18] See Bing 1988: 62–90, Gelzer 1993, Selden 1998: 407–8.

[19] See on the epigonal nature of Callimachus' *Iambi* Depew 1992, Konstan 1998, Acosta-Hughes 2002: 282–8.

[20] See Barbantani 2001: 12–13, Bruss 2004: 50–6 for the self-reference in Hellenistic poetry to itself as 'song', which is at least consistent with its first audience being that of a *performance* at court.

[21] Cf. Barbantani 2001: 8–13, and also Asper 2004: 6–23 on Callimachus' various audiences.

reperformance at, for example, symposia.[22] Pindar can describe his song as spreading across the Greek world:[23]

> ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσας ὁλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτῳ, γλυκεῖ' ἀοιδά,
> στεῖχ' ἀπ' Αἰγίνας διαγγέλλοισ' . . .
>
> Instead, on every merchant ship and on every boat, sweet song,
> travel from Aegina, announcing . . . (*N.* 5.2–3)

This travelling song, which in turn spreads the victor's name, we can best explain in terms of the reperformance of the ode, as the following passage from *Nemean* 4 confirms:[24]

> εἰ δ' ἔτι ζαμενεῖ Τιμόκριτος ἁλίῳ
> σὸς πατὴρ ἐθάλπετο, ποικίλον κιθαρίζων
> θαμά κε, τῷδε μέλει κλιθείς,
> υἱὸν κελάδησε καλλίνικον
>
> If still Timocritus, your father,
> were warmed by the strong sun, playing elaborately on the lyre
> often he would have hymned his victorious son,
> leaning on this song. (*N.* 4.13–16)

Pindar imagines the victor's father as performing the victory ode several times, describing this as 'leaning' on the victory ode, which most scholars agree recalls reclining at a symposium.[25] Hence reperformance (though not always by the victor's family) is the mechanism for the spread of fame. This is also clear from the common contrast in Pindaric epinicians between the *komos* and the victory song,[26] as at *O.* 10.91–6 where the victor who is not commemorated in song gains only βραχύ τι τερπνόν ('a brief delight', v. 93), missing out on the εὐρὺ κλέος ('broad fame', v. 95) which Pindar confers. The breadth of this fame, and the contrast between song and the transient, one-off *komos*, implies the reperformance of the song.

[22] See Morgan 1993: 10–13, Barbantani 2001: 11–13. In general on the reperformance of Archaic poetry see Herington 1985: 161–222. Cf. also on the reperformance of Pindaric epinicians Currie 2004 and Hubbard 2004, both of whom suggest various possible contexts outside monodic reperformance at symposia for the reperformance and dissemination of Pindar's poetry.

[23] Cf. also *I.* 2.44–6, *I.* 4.37–42 (on the reperformance of Homer). Such references to reperformance are in fact fairly common in Pindar (cf. Heath–Lefkowitz 1991: 186). Cf. also Xenophanes fr. 6 D.–K.

[24] I adopt Bergk's emendation υἱὸν in v. 16 for the ὕμνον of the MSS – see Willcock 1995: 96.

[25] See, e.g., Morgan 1993: 11–12. But cf., however, Currie 2004: 57, who suggests that κλιθείς at *N.* 4.15 is more likely to mean 'devoted to'.

[26] See Bundy 1962: I.22–3.

This life for the victory ode after its first performance is thus an integral part of the fame poets such as Pindar promise their patrons, the way that ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει, 'the word lives longer than the deeds' (Pindar *N.* 4.6).[27] The corresponding conception of the song as an object which will live on, e.g. ἀθάνατον Μουσᾶν ἄγαλμα, 'an immortal offering of the Muses' (B. 10.11),[28] implies a well-developed conception of poetry as fixed and lasting 'literature'.[29]

Because Archaic and early Classical literature is 'textualised' in this way through continued reperformance,[30] e.g. at symposia, it is not sufficient to posit as the explanation for the character of Hellenistic poetry the fact that poets encountered earlier literature as 'text' which they read and to which they had repeated access. Repeated access to the literature of the past would also have been available to Pindar and his contemporaries, though principally through hearing regular reperformances, rather than through reading. In many ways the process of 'rereading', an obviously 'literate' practice, has close affinities with exposure to repeated reperformances of poetry, and consequent close familiarity with this poetry (which is not to say, of course, that having access to the text of Pindar in the Alexandrian Library is identical to hearing repeated performances of Pindar).[31] Hence we see in Archaic poetry important intertextual relationships developed with earlier

[27] Cf., e.g., Young 1983: 40 with n. 29. Cf. also Theognis' promise to Cyrnus of future and pan-Hellenic fame (vv. 239–40, 245–7).

[28] Cf. B. 9.85–7.

[29] See Kerkhecker 1999: 12 with n. 12 against Bing 1988: 16, Rösler 1980: 45–56. As Herington 1985: 41–2 points out, the song culture of Greece depended ultimately on written copies (which could function as 'keys' to performance – cf. Thomas 1992: 118–19), though the primary mode of reception was as song. Cf. also Most 1993: 78–82 for the view that the self-correction of *Th.* 225ff. at *Op.* 11–12, concerning Eris, implies a stable, unaltered version of the *Theogony*, which Most suggests ultimately depends on written copies of the poem.

[30] See Nagy 1990: 53–81, 1996: 38–42 for the suggestion that the Homeric epics were fixed or 'textualised' through pan-Hellenic reperformance and diffusion before being recorded in writing relatively late, in the second half of the sixth century (though Nagy envisages the process of recomposition-in-performance continuing even after that; cf. also on this Janko 1998: 3). Cf. also Edmunds 2001: 79, Ford 2003: 18–19. While I think the concept of textualisation through reperformance is a useful one for Archaic poetry, it seems clear that oral recompositions-in-performance of Homer after the eighth century have *not* left a trace in our text, which goes back to a text produced in the eighth century (cf. Janko 1982: 228–32, Kirk 1985: 1–16), e.g. by dictation (cf. Lord 1953, Janko 1998). For the suggestion that the Greek alphabet was invented to record the Homeric poems see, e.g., Powell 1991 and 1997.

[31] See Calinescu 1993: 187. Cf. also Ong's identification of one typically 'literate' problem for the writer of a text as being the need to 'fictionalize' the unknown and future reader (1982: 102, 107), discussed by Calinescu 1993: 184. There is clearly a close parallel for this in Pindar's epinician poetry – the composition in advance of an ode to be performed before the first audience (possibly without the presence of Pindar himself – cf. Herington 1985: 30–1, Morgan 1993: 12–14), and then its afterlife in reperformances in the context of the victor's city or family, or further afield still. Oral performance, then, does not rule out textuality or its attendant problems.

and contemporary texts,[32] as well as extensive manipulation of secondary audiences.

Even poets such as Alcaeus and Sappho, whose poems are full of references to particular individuals, situations and locales which seem very 'private' and local, may take account of secondary audiences in the design of their poetry.[33] The local, private situation of such poetry may not simply be a paradox vis-à-vis the preservation of the poetry.[34] Why would such poetry interest those outside the circle? Precisely because of the portrayal of the circle and the feeling of 'pseudo-intimacy' thus created for secondary audiences beyond the original, 'private' audience.[35] Scodel draws attention to the feeling of eavesdropping, of admission to the circle, which poetry such as Alcaeus' and Sappho's produces.[36] The seemingly private references play a large role in the appeal of the poetry for secondary audiences, which feel admitted to a 'small, enclosed world'.[37] Pindar's poetry operates in a similar way – the oblique and implicit nature of much of the encomiastic information in the epinicians (victor's name, event, place of victory etc.) means that secondary audiences have to make some effort to reconstruct everything precisely, i.e. they are treated as if they knew the information already (as the original audience would have done).[38] This 'pseudo-intimate' effect is a particularly important Archaic characteristic adapted in the Hellenistic period.

There is, then, no justification for a radical break in the way we as critics should approach Archaic poetry, its narrative or narrators, as compared to the Hellenistic and later periods of poetry. Nor is a shift from songs to books going to explain Hellenistic allusiveness or intertextuality by itself.

[32] Cf., e.g., the ways in which Pindar in his choral epinician poetry appropriates and includes (among others) Homer, informal sympotic celebratory song and monodic erotic lyric. See Morgan 1993.

[33] Some scholars, e.g. Rösler 1980: 77–91, MacLachlan 1997: 139–40, have suggested the possibility of the wholly oral dissemination of Archaic poets such as Alcaeus. But it seems likely that every ancient author's text which has come down to us (whether through manuscripts or papyri) goes back to a copy either written or dictated by the author himself (so Davison 1962: 148–9, cf. also Pöhlmann 1990: 21–3, Ford 2003: 20–1), which is why we have such texts, in contrast to the loss of the vast majority of 'folk' or popular poetry, which went unrecorded (cf. Thomas 1992: 105–7). We have very little of such material, and those early poets whom we do have are simply early examples of 'higher' or 'special' (in a variety of senses) poetry which poet or patron thought important enough to have recorded.

[34] See Rösler 1980: 78.

[35] See Scodel 1996: 60. On the original circumstances of the creation and performance of Sappho's poetry cf. Stehle 1997: 262–318.

[36] Scodel 1996: 60–1. [37] Scodel 1996: 61.

[38] Cf. Scodel 1996: 62. Carey 1995: 95–6 discerns a similar effect in Pindar created by the prominence of the narrator's first-person statements and the emphasis on the relationship of friendship between poet and patron which he terms 'quasi-intimate'.

Standing behind such views of the explanatory power of the shift from songs to books is work such as Ong's, which argues that the 'technology' of writing effects a complete intellectual and cultural transformation.[39] Recent scholarship has emphasised the complex overlap and interaction of oral and literate modes or 'technologies' of communication,[40] and the corresponding dependence of Ong and others on a dichotomy between orality and literacy which does not reflect the realities of actual cultures or their literature.[41]

CHORAL EPINICIAN POETRY AND REPERFORMANCE

Archaic poetry was orally performed and orally received by audiences but it was not, for the most part, a one-off business, a never-to-be-repeated show, in this respect very different from the rereadable, reaccessible poetry of the Hellenistic period.[42] Recent criticism of Pindar in particular did concentrate on the original occasion for the poems after the work of Bundy,[43] but while some critics still urge the overwhelming importance of this first audience,[44] several studies have in recent years demonstrated the importance of reperformance and secondary audiences to Pindar and Archaic poetry in general.[45] Indeed it is worth re-emphasising here one of the implications of Pindaric awareness and use of secondary audiences and reperformance, which was first suggested by Morgan.[46] This is that the imprecision of Pindar's language about the circumstances of the performance of his epinician poetry might be related to the need to accommodate more than one type of performance, the opening choral performance and

[39] See Ong 1982, and the work of Havelock, e.g. 1963, 1976–7 (itself building on Parry and Lord, e.g. Lord 1960). Similarly, Goody–Watt 1968: 42–56 suggested literacy (in contrast to the orality of earlier Greek society) as the main cause of, among other things, democracy and philosophy. See Thomas 1992: 20 for the problems with explaining such developments in terms of a change from orality to literacy.

[40] E.g. Calinescu 1993. Cf. Bruss 2004 for the complex presentation of oral and literate modes of communication in Callimachus' poetry.

[41] Finnegan 1977: 46–51, Williamson 1990: 48–61, Thomas 1992: 44–51. Cf. also Ford 2003: 16–17 for a survey of such criticisms of Havelock, and a call for a more 'neo-Havelockian' approach.

[42] But this still seems to be the assumption of some critics of Hellenistic poetry – see, e.g., DeForest 1994: 18–19.

[43] See Bundy 1962, who argued that Pindar would not include anything which the original audience might think irrelevant to the praise of the victor. Close attention to the first audience led to important work on, for example, the complexities of the original audience (e.g. Kurke 1991), or the relationship of the occasion to the design of the ode (e.g. Krummen 1990).

[44] E.g. Pfeijffer 1999a: 10.

[45] See, e.g., Herington 1985, Gentili 1988: 163 with n. 47, Morgan 1993, Currie 2004, Hubbard 2004 and in general Morrison (forthcoming).

[46] Morgan 1993: 12.

subsequent monodic reperformance. Hence the notion of in particular Pindaric reperformance can help to dissolve the recent debate about the original performance conditions of his epinicians. Were they performed by a chorus,[47] or by a solo singer?[48]

The 'choral or monodic' debate was conducted vigorously in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The trigger for the suggestion that solo singers might have originally performed the odes,[49] rather than the choruses which tradition assumed, was the fact that the great majority of first-person statements in Pindar seem to refer to the poet (or his narrator/persona), rather than the chorus,[50] which is at least consistent with solo performance.[51] But, as Currie has noted, the debate fizzled out without a final resolution.[52] But perhaps such resolution was impossible, given the pattern of argument over individual passages which seem to indicate one hypothesis rather than another.[53] For example, at the beginning of *N.* 3 poet and young men are depicted as waiting for the Muses' song:

> ὕδατι γάρ
> μένοντ' ἐπ' Ἀσωπίῳ μελιγαρύων τέκτονες
> κώμων νεανίαι, σέθεν ὄπα μαιόμενοι.
>
> Because at the Asopian water they are waiting,
> the makers of sweet-sounding revels, young men,
> eager for your voice; (vv. 3–5)

> τᾶς ἀφθονίαν ὄπαζε μήτιος ἀμᾶς ἄπο·
> ἄρχε δ' οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι, θύγατερ,
> δόκιμον ὕμνον· ἐγὼ δὲ κείνων τέ νιν ὀάροις
> λύρᾳ τε κοινάσομαι.
>
> Bestow abundance of it from my skill:
> begin, daughter, for the ruler of many-clouded heaven
> an excellent hymn. I, for my part, shall share it with the voices
> of these men here and the lyre. (vv. 9–12)

Carey, for example, takes this as good evidence for an original choral performance of *N.* 3,[54] given that the fiction of waiting here appears to involve the passing on of a song provided by the Muses to a waiting chorus.

[47] So the Pindar scholia. Cf. also Burnett 1989, Carey 1989, 1991.
[48] See, e.g., Lefkowitz 1988 = 1991: ch. 9, Heath, M. 1988, Davies 1988, Heath–Lefkowitz 1991.
[49] See, e.g., Lefkowitz 1988: 3–4 = 1991: 193–4. [50] Cf. pp. 63–6 below.
[51] See Braswell 1992: 47. [52] See Currie 2004: 49.
[53] Cf. Morgan 1993: 1–2 on the pattern in the choral–monodic debate of competing interpretations of various passages as 'stage directions'.
[54] See Carey 1991: 197.

But proponents of the solo hypothesis, such as Heath and Lefkowitz, can also incorporate such passages. They argue that the passage refers to unison singing by the young men, but not to the epinician itself.[55] The singing, on their view, is separate from the victory ode. *O.* 1.17–18 ('take down the Dorian lyre from its hook') provides an inverse example. This passage is most naturally taken to refer to the circumstances of performance, that is to solo performance,[56] but some scholars take it as figurative, within choral performance.[57]

Whatever the original performance conditions of Pindaric and other epinicians (the background of which, at least, is choral, hence the triadic or strophic structure, though this cannot determine that they were performed chorally), it is reperformance which achieves the pan-Hellenic and enduring fame promised to patrons. This reperformance appears to have been monodic (as *N.* 4.13–16 shows).[58] Pindar and Bacchylides were aware of these secondary audiences, indeed they are the very mechanism for the achievement of the patrons' fame. Hence they are as important as the original performance. One reason for the vagueness and comparative scarcity of references to the circumstances of the original performance is the importance of reperformance,[59] perhaps under very different conditions. The openness about the circumstances of performance facilitates monodic reperformance, which is the means of achieving lasting pan-Hellenic fame. Occasionally, for some reason, Pindar might want to make more explicit reference to the circumstances of the original performance, as perhaps is the case at the beginning of *Nemean* 3, and occasionally might allude more explicitly to reperformance (as in *Nemean* 4).[60] Perhaps the term κῶμος ('revel'), preferred to χορός ('chorus') in Pindar, is suitably vague and unspecific as to whether a chorus performing the ode is meant, or the victory revel more generally.[61]

[55] See Heath–Lefkowitz 1991: 186–8.
[56] See Heath–Lefkowitz 1991: 181–2.
[57] See Carey 1989: 560.
[58] Cf. also Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1355–6, where we find monodic reperformance of a Simonidean epinician poem. See Nagy 1990: 113.
[59] See on the vagueness about performance in Pindar Herington 1985: 28–30, Carey 1989: 557–8; cf. also Lefkowitz 1991: 60 on the general and unspecific references in Pindaric epinicians, e.g. *I.* 7.
[60] It also seems possible that there might have been some variety in the original performance conditions from Cyrene to Sicily, Pella to Rhodes and 498 to 446 BC (first and last datable Pindaric odes). See, however, Carey 1991: 199 n. 22.
[61] Cf. Heath 1988: 183–8 on the wide potential reference of the term κῶμος, which can refer to any mobile celebration. Cf. also Morgan 1993: 2–5, who argues that Pindar can either contrast the κῶμος with his song (e.g. *O.* 1.*init.*), or associate it closely with it (e.g. *O.* 2.47), depending on whether he wants to emphasise his professional skill or his spontaneity and sincerity. It can also stand for the symposium within which Pindaric reperformances would take place (Morgan 1993: 12–13). Cf. also Bremer 1990: 55, who thinks the avoidance of χορός might be on religious grounds.

The importance of reperformance provides another explanation as to why the first persons in Pindar refer to the poet (or his narrator/persona) – the subsequent reperformances by solo singers. It also explains why both the choral and monodic hypotheses can get a foothold in the Pindaric evidence. Even if, then, Carey is right to say that the victory odes were 'intended for choral delivery',[62] it is clear that they were *also* intended for solo delivery, and this latter delivery is the means for the achievement of fame.

PERSONA: VISIBILITY, CENTRALITY AND QUASI-BIOGRAPHY

The conclusions above about the nature of the 'orality' of Archaic poetry, and the probable circumstances of the performance and reperformance of Pindar, should close (though not eradicate) the perceived gap between third-century and earlier literature.[63] There is nothing anachronistic in applying to Archaic poetry such critical concepts as literary allusion. Most importantly for this study, the considerations above make conceptual room for the idea that Archaic poets could develop personas which were central to the organisation, function and value of their poems, and that, moreover, such personas could be consistent across different poems, and be received as consistent and unified by audiences (both primary and secondary). The reperformance of Archaic poetry, and the consequent dissemination of poetry across the Greek world, suggest that audiences could hear different works by, e.g., Hipponax, and realise that the narratorial guise taken on in these different works was largely the same. Indeed many of the effects striven for in the poems were probably a result of this consistent persona. It was not only Hellenistic audiences, then, which could perceive 'Hipponax', as when Callimachus presents the dead iambicist as visiting Alexandria in *Iamb.* 1, but Archaic audiences also. The importance of this narratorial personality in the Archaic poets makes them important models for the Hellenistic poets, with their own particular interest in narrators and poetic authority.[64]

The centrality of the personality of the narrator to the control and purpose of Archaic poetry varies considerably between poets and genres. The most important division in the nature and presentation of Archaic

[62] Carey 1989: 562.
[63] Such a gap would perhaps seem less pronounced if we had more late fifth- and fourth-century poetry, as the fragments of Timotheus and Antimachus suggest. Cf. Dover 1971: lxx–i.
[64] Cf. pp. 15–17 above on issues of poetic authority in the Hellenistic period.

primary narrators is between epic (principally Homer and the *Homeric Hymns*) on the one hand, and other Archaic genres (including Hesiod) on the other. De Jong, of course, has clearly demonstrated that the Homeric narrator is an ever-present controlling force in the narrative of the *Iliad*, showing how the primary narrator selects, arranges and presents the narrative to the audience, e.g. in the use of γάρ-clauses to anticipate an audience question by explaining decisions or events.[65] The story does not 'tell itself'. But it is also clear that the narrators of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* do not foreground themselves – they do not use their narratorial personas as a principal method of structuring their epics, nor are the epics about them. The narrators are there, of course, but they are self-effacing.

This relatively low level of narrator-prominence is apparent from formal characteristics such as the scarcity of narratorial first-person statements, or the absence of self-naming.[66] It is also clear in the very small amount of quasi-biography in Homer. Quasi-biography, any reference to an external life for the narrator beyond the simple capacity to narrate, draws attention to the narrator by providing the audience with apparent information on the narrator's name, appearance, relations, history etc. But in Homer we are not told any such information. The only quasi-biography is the very oblique deduction that the narrator is telling his story a long time after the events of the Trojan War and its aftermath, as the οἷοι νῦν βροτοί-passages indicate.[67]

The *Homeric Hymns* have, for the most part, a similarly unprominent narrator. First-person statements, for example, are largely confined to the standard opening and closing formulas such as ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν ('I begin to sing', e.g. *h.Cer.* 1) and αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς ('but now I will remember you and another song too', e.g. *h.Cer.* 495). They are also correspondingly lacking in quasi-biography, with the exception of

[65] Such statements explain the reason for something, e.g. *Il.* 1.54–5, explaining why Achilles calls an assembly. Cf. de Jong 1987: 91–3.

[66] Indeed the self-effacement extends to presenting a character's thoughts in the form of conversations with his θυμός ('heart') to avoid drawing attention to the mediating presence of the narrator, and his implied privileged knowledge (cf. Richardson 1990: 131–2). But even the Homeric narrator is much more prominent than narrators in 'non-narrated' narratives (cf. pp. 29–30 above), and there can be exceptions to the narrator's unobtrusiveness, e.g. in the rare narratorial apostrophes to characters to arouse audience sympathy, as to Patroclus in *Il.* 16. Cf. Parry 1972: 10–15, Block 1982: 15–22, Richardson 1990: 170–4 and pp. 91–2 below.

[67] Such passages refer to 'such as mortals are today', e.g. *Il.* 5.302–4, 12.378–85, 12.445–9, 20.285–7. Cf. de Jong 1987: 44.

the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*,[68] which embeds a description of the narrator within itself:

> ‘ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ’ ὔμμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν
> ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέῳ τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;’
> ὑμεῖς δ’ εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθ’ ἀμφ’ ἡμέων·
> ‘τυφλὸς ἀνήρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἔνι παιπαλοέσσῃ,
> τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν ἀοιδαί.’
> ἡμεῖς δ’ ὑμέτερον κλέος οἴσομεν ὅσσον ἐπ’ αἶαν
> ἀνθρώπων στρεφόμεσθα πόλεις εὖ ναιεταώσας·
>
> ‘O girls, which bard has come here and pleased you most,
> and in whom have you delighted most?’
> And all of you together will answer on my behalf:
> ‘A blind man, he lives on rocky Chios,
> and all his songs are the best into the future.’
> And I will carry your fame as far as I travel over the earth
> to the well-placed cities of men. (vv. 169–75)

The narrator here is a blind Chian who travels across the earth and spreads the fame of the Deliades. But this quasi-biography is not the only way in which the hymn is exceptional,[69] as its use of apostrophe demonstrates. In the *Homeric Hymns* most addresses by the narrator are either invocations at the beginning of the hymn, or come as part of the closing prayers bidding farewell to the god. In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, however, we find the apostrophising of Leto at vv. 14–18 in a narrative on the birth of Artemis and Apollo, of Apollo himself in vv. 19–29 where he is asked how he should be sung of, then also in vv. 140–50, describing his wealth, and in vv. 216–86, where Apollo’s travels are directly addressed to him, with repeated vocatives (at vv. 229, 239, 277) and second-person verbs.[70]

The anomalous nature of this hymn, when compared to the other *Homeric Hymns*, makes it dangerous for us to employ it as paradigmatic

[68] Another exception (as also in its use of apostrophe) is *h.Hom.* 8 to Ares, with a much more developed prayer on the part of the narrator for self-restraint, but this is very much later, probably by Proclus (West 1970: 303–4). I leave aside the question of the unity or division of *h.Ap.*, on which cf. Janko 1982: 99–100, Miller 1986: ix–xi and Aloni 1989, esp. 18–29. Note that both the ‘Delian’ and ‘Pythian’ sections display exceptional characteristics when compared to the rest of the corpus (see Nünlist 2004b: 36, 40–2 and pp. 116, 152–3 below).

[69] It also displays peculiarities of structure in the Delian part (Janko 1981: 16–18).

[70] Regular narratorial apostrophe is one means of making a narrator prominent – cf. Richardson 1990: 170–4 and pp. 29–30 above. Fantuzzi 1993a: 934–9, 945–6 associates such apostrophe in Archaic hymnal poetry with ‘hieratic-ceremonial’ choral lyric (rather than rhapsodic hymn), which only underlines its unusual nature in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. On the unusual connection of the hymn with a specific location, occasion and audience see Griffith 1983: 45–6, Graziosi 2002: 64.

of the function of *Homeric Hymns*.[71] But its unusually prominent narrator only serves to bring into sharper relief the correspondingly self-effacing epic narrators elsewhere in Archaic poetry. The narrator of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* also reflects some of the characteristics of narrators outside epic, and it may be partly under their influence that the hymn's author has brought his narrator into the foreground.[72]

In several Archaic poets and across different genres, it is clear that the narrator is a much more central component and device, and in particular a much more prominent focus for the attention of the audience, than is the case in Homer. I mean by this that we find in poets such as Archilochus, Hesiod, Sappho and Pindar not just narrators who are much more visible than most narrators in epic, but narrators who are themselves now the subject for narrative and who command the attention of the audience (though in different ways according to the individual poet). While in Homer the narrator may only 'step from behind the curtain' infrequently,[73] in the case of many Archaic poets the narrator takes the stage. Nevertheless, even within this general greater visibility and exploitation of prominent primary narrators, there are clear differences as to the place and function of the narrator and narratives about him/her in different texts and genres, as I shall indicate.[74]

We can use a survey (not meant as exhaustive) of the quasi-biography in Archaic texts as an approximate index of the general greater visibility of narrators outside Archaic epic, and the corresponding transformation of the narrator into a subject for narrative.

The Hesiodic narrator, for example, as I have noted above,[75] makes extensive reference to an external life: he has a brother and father (*Op*. 633), an inheritance of which he has been partly cheated (*Op*. 35–39) and one sole experience of sailing (*Op*. 650ff.). In the *Theogony* the narrator even names himself (*Th*. 22). Alongside this factual information, we also find, particularly in the *Works and Days*, the explicit expression of the opinions and reactions of the narrator to these events.[76] The Hesiodic narrator reproaches Perses on the question of his and Perses' inheritance, as well

[71] See Bergren 1982 for such an attempt with regard to the centrality of apostrophe and its role in bringing about an epiphany of the god hymned.

[72] Cf. Carey 2000: 166–7, who sees in *h.Ap*. 166–75 the earliest example of a poet openly attaching the *laudandus*' fame (i.e. here that of the Deliades) to his own, which Carey thinks signals that such fame is now to be gained by association with a famous poet, rather than through the reperformance of anonymous songs about famous deeds as in Homer.

[73] See Richardson 1990: 168. [74] See pp. 54–7 below. [75] Pp. 30–2 above.

[76] See Dover 1964: 106.

as the βασιλῆες ('lords') who have judged the case (*Op.* 37–41), and is portrayed as considering his brother (μέγα νήπιε Πέρση, 'Perses you great fool', *Op.* 286, 633) to be lazy and in need of constant advice:

> μή πως τὰ μέταζε χατίζων
> πτώσσῃς ἀλλοτρίους οἴκους καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύσσῃς.
> ὡς καὶ νῦν ἐπ' ἔμ' ἦλθες· ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐκ ἐπιδώσω
> οὐδ' ἐπιμετρήσω· ἐργάζευ, νήπιε Πέρση,
>
> . . . or else in time when in need
> you might go begging to others' houses and get nothing.
> In this way you recently came to me – but I will not give you any more
> nor measure out any more. Work, Perses you fool. (*Op.* 394–7)

This full emotional life on the part of the narrator also extends to reactions to his own narratives, as the wish at *Op.* 174–6 not to live in this Age of Iron demonstrates.

In non-hexameter Archaic poetry there is also a great deal of quasi-biographical material. This is true of almost all types – *iambos*, Lesbian lyric, choral lyric, sympotic elegy and political poetry. The fragmentary nature of much of this poetry often makes impossible absolute certainty about whether the primary narrator is speaking,[77] hence also about whether we are dealing with quasi-biography (as opposed to statements about a character within a narrative). Nevertheless, there are sufficient fragments with a great enough context to make some progress.

In Archilochus and Hipponax there are extensive first-person sexual narratives recounting the sexual exploits of the narrator (e.g. παρθένον δ' ἐν ἄνθε[σιν | τηλ]εθάεσσι λαβών | ἔκλινα, 'taking the girl I laid her down in the blooming flowers', Archil. fr. 196a.42ff. W.).[78] There are also other quasi-biographical details in Archilochus, such as narratorial participation in a battle (fr. 98 W.), and the narrator's abandonment of his shield (fr. 5 W.), as well as the expression of emotion and desire. The narrator (if it is the narrator who speaks) in fr. 20 W. cries for the ills the Thasians suffer (κλαίω τὰ Θασίων, οὐ τὰ Μαγνήτων κακά, 'I weep for the evils of the people of Thasos, not those of the Magnesians'), while that in fr. 19 W. gives his opinion on the riches of Gyges (οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει, 'I don't care about the possessions of gold-rich Gyges', fr. 19.1 W.).[79] Less non-sexual material has been preserved from Hipponax, but there is some, including fragments depicting the narrator's

[77] Cf. pp. 3–4 above. [78] Cf. also Archil. frr. 54, 82 W., Hippon. frr. 17, 92, 104 W.
[79] Cf. also fr. 24 W. (speaker's pleasure at safe homecoming of friend), fr. 114 W. (opinion on generals).

poverty (frr. 32, 34, 36 W.), two of which also contain self-namings (fr. 32.4 W., fr. 36.2 W., the former in the voice of the narrator),[80] something we do not find in Archilochus. There are also expressions of opinion, such as the speaker's view of Critias in Hipponax fr. 30 W.:

> οὔ μοι δικαίως μοιχὸς ἁλῶναι δοκεῖ
> Κριτίης ὁ Χῖος
>
> Critias the Chian doesn't seem to me to
> have been justly caught in adultery. (vv. 1–2)

Narratorial opinion and emotion are also prominent in the personal lyric of Sappho:

> ο]ἰ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον οἰ δὲ πέσδων,
> οἰ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν
> ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ-
> τω τις ἔραται·
>
> Some say the most beautiful thing on the dark earth
> is an army of horsemen, others say one of infantrymen,
> others a fleet, but I say it is what one loves; (fr. 16.1–4 V.)

> τᾶ]ς <κ>ε βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα
> κἀμάρυχμα λάμπρον ἴδην προσώπω
> ἢ τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα
>
> I would rather look on her lovely steps
> and face's shining sparkle
> than the chariots of the Lydians. (fr. 16.17–19 V.)

The narrator is very much the centre of attention here – first persons and the expression of strong opinion and emotion make the speaker much more prominent than in Homer, for example. But the quasi-biography in Sappho is fuller than the mere evocation of desire. At frr. 1.20, 65.5, 94.5 and 133.2 V. there are self-namings, revealing the primary narrator's name, though in all cases it is at least likely that the speaker of the name is not the primary narrator herself.[81] There is also a self-description in fr. 58.13–16 V. which the recently published Sappho papyrus (*P.Koln.* 21351) confirms is the narrator's, contrasting her own old age with the youth of the 'children' she tells to concern themselves with

[80] Cf. also frr. 37, 79.9, 117.4 W.

[81] See Prins 1999: 8–13 on the complexities of these self-namings, e.g. the displacements caused by their being spoken by voices other than the primary narrator's.

the lyre and the gifts of the Muses (vv. 1–2 of the new, almost complete, poem~ fr. 58.11–12 V.):[82]

> ἔμοι δ' ἄπαλον πρίν] π̣οτ' [ἔ]ο̣ντα χρόα γῆρας ἤδη
> ἐπέλλαβε, λεῦκαι δ' ἐγ]ένοντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν·
> βάρυς δέ μ' ὀ [θ]ῦμο̣ς πεπόηται, γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι
> τὰ δή ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρχησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισι.
>
> [My] skin [soft though] it was once old age has now
> [seized,] and my hair has become [white] from black.
> Heavy my heart has become, and my knees cannot bear me,
> which once were so quick to dance, like fawns.

Though this narratorial description effectively evokes the change brought about by the narrator's ageing, it is striking that the poem never makes explicit the narrator's sex.[83] Elsewhere in Sappho, as well as the common description of love for various women (e.g. Atthis in fr. 49 V.), there is also some biographical information about the primary narrator's family. In fr. 98 (a) V. the narrator speaks about her mother (ἀ γάρ με γέννα[τ, 'because my mother to me', v. 1), while fr. 98 (b) addresses one Cleis, whom the *Suda* (Σ 107, iv 322f. Adler) and *P.Oxy.* 1800 fr. 1 say was Sappho's daughter.[84] Herodotus (2.135) reports that Sappho abused her brother Charaxus in a song after he freed the prostitute Rhodopis.

In the political poems of Alcaeus, such as fr. 69 V., there is also considerable quasi-biography. In fr. 69 V. the narrator tells us of the financial support of the Lydians for an attempt to enter ἴρ[| ἐς πόλιν ('into the [holy] city', vv. 3–4), which seems to be connected to an attempt to overthrow Pittacus, tyrant of Mytilene. In fr. 130 (b) V. the narrator describes his exile and the fact that he now lives μοῖραν ἔχων ἀγροϊωτίκαν ('having the lot of a countrydweller', v. 2). In the same fragment the narrator speaks of his father and grandfather (fr. 130 (b).5 V.). Another poem (fr. 350 V.) seems to have been addressed to Alcaeus' brother, on returning from fighting with the Babylonians (Strabo 13.2.3). There is also an apparent self-naming, preserved in fr. 401B (a).1 V. (Ἄλκαος σάος, 'Alcaeus is safe').

Other Alcaic poems make their sympotic setting explicit, and we find exhortations to addressees to get drunk with the narrator (e.g. fr. 38 (a) V.), or to pour perfume over the narrator's head and grey chest (fr. 50.2 V.,

[82] See West 2005 for the text of this new poem.
[83] As Janko 2005 points out, arguing that this is to emphasise the parallelism between the narrator and the mythological parallel of Tithonus the narrator cites.
[84] Cf. also fr. 132 V. for Cleis as Sappho's daughter.

suggesting the age of the narrator). We find similar sympotic subject matter in the fragments of Anacreon, which concentrate on the narrator's loves (e.g. Cleobulus in *PMG* 357 and 359) and his drinking (καλοῖς | ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις, 'drinking with restraint in the midst of beautiful hymns', *PMG* 356 (b).4–5).[85]

In Anacreon there is also mention of a sister in *PMG* 370 (ἐμὴν ἁπαλὴν κάσιν, 'my gentle sister'), though it is impossible to be certain that this was spoken by the primary narrator.[86] *PMG* 381 (b) may preserve a first-person narrative about the narrator dropping his shield (cf. Archil. fr. 5 W.):

ἀσπίδα ῥίψας ποταμοῦ καλλιρόου παρ' ὄχθας

Dropping the shield by the banks of a beautifully flowing river.

Again, the lack of a context makes it impossible to determine the full significance of this fragment. More certain are the references to the narrator's age in *PMG* 418 (κλῦθί μεο γέροντος, 'listen to me, an old man') and in particular *PMG* 395, which forms an example of extensive narratorial self-description:

πολιοὶ μὲν ἡμῖν ἤδη
κρόταφοι κάρη τε λευκόν,
χαρίεσσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἥβη
πάρα, γηραλέοι δ' ὀδόντες,
γλυκεροῦ δ' οὐκέτι πολλὸς
βιότου χρόνος λέλειπται·

Hoary now are my
temples and my head is white,
elegant prime of youth
is gone, old are my teeth,
and not much time of my
sweet life is left. (vv. 1–6)

In Solon, by contrast, we find quasi-biography more akin to that found in Alcaeus' political poems. This is true both of the elegiac fragments, where the narrator can claim to have arrived from Salamis (fr. 1.1 W.), exhibit his nationality (Ἀττικὸς οὗτος ἀνήρ, 'this man before you is Athenian', fr. 2.4 W.), boast of his political achievements (fr. 5 W.) and make reference to his age (γηράσκω, 'I am growing old', fr. 18 W.), and of the iambics (both trochaic tetrameters and iambic trimeters), where the

[85] Further probable narratorial love in, e.g., *PMG* 346, 358, 389, 396, and wine in, e.g., *PMG* 373, 383, 396.
[86] In general for some brief but useful comments on the 'personal' in Anacreon cf. Braghetti 2001.

narrator can defend his refusal to become a tyrant (fr. 32 W.), incorporate his name into an imagined speech of condemnation – οὐκ ἔφυ Σόλων βαθύφρων ('Solon is not a deep thinker', fr. 33.1 W.) and again boast of his political achievements:

> ταῦτα μὲν κράτει
> ὁμοῦ βίην τε καὶ δίκην ξυναρμόσας
> ἔρεξα
>
> I did these things through strength
> uniting might and right. (fr. 36.15–17 W.)

We find further Archaic elegiac quasi-biography in Theognis, or, more accurately, the'Theognidean' collection of elegiac verse. Even if we cannot attribute much of the collection with certainty to 'Theognis of Megara',[87] the very fact that the material duplicated from other poets (e.g. the similarity of vv. 227–32 to Solon fr. 13.71–6 W.) is duplicated from Archaic poets justifies consideration of the collection as a whole as evidence of narrators in Archaic elegy.[88] There is considerable variety in the identity of different Theognidean narrators. This is clear from, e.g., the female narrator of vv. 257–60, who complains about her husband, but also from the variety of narratorial names and nationalities.The narrator in vv. 19–38 names himself and claims to be from Megara (Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη | τοῦ Μεγαρέως, 'these are Theognis of Megara's verses', vv. 22–3), while that in vv. 1211–16 claims to be from a city Ληθαίῳ κεκλιμένη πεδίῳ ('lying by the Lethaean plain', v. 1216).[89] In vv. 1209–10 the narrator claims a different name and current city:

> Αἴθων μὲν γένος εἰμί, πόλιν δ' εὐτείχεα Θήβην
> οἰκῶ, πατρῴας γῆς ἀπερυκόμενος.
>
> Aethon by birth I am, but in well-walled Thebes
> I live, kept away from my ancestral land.

The common context of giving advice to Cyrnus/Polypaïdes, regular addressee in Theognis, allows for other quasi-biographical elements, e.g. the evocation of the friendship/erotic relationship with Cyrnus (e.g. vv. 371–2). Other erotic involvements are suggested in, e.g., vv. 261–6, where the narrator has been usurped by an inferior man, and in the largely

[87] Cf. West 1974: 40.

[88] Even Euenus, suggested author of vv. 467–96, 667–82, 1341–50, probably dates from the first half of the fifth century, cf. West 1989–92: II.66.

[89] Though that may be a reference to the underworld, cf. τὸ Λήθης πεδίον ('the plain of Lethe') at Ar. *Ra*. 186, Pl. *R*. 621a with Gerber 1999: 357.

paederastic 'book 2' (vv. 1231–389). We also find Theognidean narrators drinking (e.g. vv. 467–96, 503–8), in poverty, clear in vv. 351–4, 619–22 and 649–52, and expressing fears (e.g. for the political future of one's city, vv. 39–52), likes (χαίρω δ' εὖ πίνων καὶ ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος ἀείδων, 'I delight in good drinking and singing accompanied by the *aulos*-player', v. 533) and desires (vv. 653–4).

In Simonides' elegies the narrator can address his ψυχή ('soul') and declare that he can no longer be a guardian due to his becoming older (fr.eleg. 21.3ff. W.), while *SLG* S387 seems to tell of the narrator's meeting with Pan (though it is not certain that this fragment is Simonidean). In Bacchylides there are references to the Cean nationality of the narrator, which is implied at 2.*init.* and explicit in the characteristically third-person description of the narrator as a 'honey-tongued Cean nightingale' at 3.97–8. In Pindar we find the narrator claiming to have seen a victory himself (*O.* 10.100ff.), declaring his kinship with the Aegidae of Sparta (*P.* 5.72ff.),[90] having his possessions guarded by Alcmaeon (*P.* 8.56ff.), and declaring his nationality (*I.* 1. *init.*).[91]

This survey shows the large degree of quasi-biography which we find across different genres and authors outside Archaic epic and hexameter hymn. But there are clear differences within Archaic lyric, elegy, *iambos* and Hesiodic didactic as to the centrality of the quasi-biography to the function and purpose of the poems. Even in some cases where there is a large amount of quasi-biography and a prominent primary narrator we should see this quasi-biography as one means to achieve other ends or effects. For example, in Hesiod the primary narrator may exploit or distort facts about the historical author's life to emphasise certain points (e.g. the dangers of sailing, *Op.* 678–94) or claim authority and authorship (e.g. *Th.* 22–35).[92] But the main concern of the poem is elsewhere – in the

[90] There is, of course, a long-running debate about whether to interpret this reference to the Aegidae as referring to Pindar (cf., e.g., Burton 1962: 146–7) or the chorus (cf., e.g., Krummen 1990: 138–40, Giannini 1990: 81–2, Stehle 1997: 17). It may be that this reference in *P.* 5 is an exception to the normal principal reference of the first person in the odes to 'Pindar' because of *P.* 5's affinities with the paean, as Krummen suggests. See, however, Nagy 1990: 380, who argues that a reference to the Cyrenean chorus is unlikely as it seems improbable that it would be entirely composed of Cyreneans tracing their descent from the Aegidae, and that the chorus should represent the entire body politic of Cyrene, not all of which could be derived from the Aegidae. Pindar, on the other hand, could claim such a kinship – cf. *I.* 7.14–15 for the connection of the Aegidae to Thebes. Cf. also Lefkowitz 1991: 179–80, who points out parallels for Pindar expressing such closeness to the victor or his city, such as addressing Aegina as 'dear mother' (*P.* 8.98).

[91] See pp. 63–6 below where I discuss Pindaric quasi-biography at greater length and argue for the reference of such statements to 'Pindar'.

[92] Such a claim about authorship is one principal reason for developing narrators named after or based on the historical author. Cf. pp. 57–67 below.

focus on knowledge about farming and the seasons,[93] or the genealogy of the gods. Something similar is true of the prominent primary narrator and the quasi-biography in Pindar – this is directed at emphasising the authority and sincerity of the narrator, and hence the legitimacy of his praise. Nevertheless, we get a strong sense of a coherent narratorial identity.[94]

Schneider has argued, in fact, that Archaic lyric,[95] at least, is not 'autobiographical' in the sense that it does not concentrate on telling a narrative of the poet's (or narrator's) life, any mentions of such a life being subordinate to another purpose, e.g. exhorting one to drink in sympotic fragments. Schneider discerns the most narrative in erotic fragments of Sappho and Anacreon,[96] but even in these cases argues that the telling of a narrative about the poet's life is not the main aim of the poems. The poems concentrate on the expression of narratorial emotion or desire, rather than constructing a narrative on the narrator, as Schneider suggests is typical of monodic lyric, which evokes particular situations rather than telling stories.[97] But while it is true that the quasi-biography that we find in much lyric is indeed directed at another purpose, Schneider has a rather restricted definition of what can count as narrative. The expression of emotion, particularly in connection with erotic or political events (e.g. in Sappho or Alcaeus' *stasiotika*), does often at least imply a narrative about the primary narrator, and this focuses the audience's attention on the events told or implied about the narrator's life.[98]

The Archaic genre in which most attention is paid to events in the narrator's life and where such a narrative does form the focus of the poetry is *iambos*. This is particularly clear in the case of Hipponax, where the quasi-biography developed is the main subject of the poems, which seem to have developed at length a coherent world inhabited by the primary narrator and such figures as Bupalus and Arete. Indeed, so extensive is the concentration on this biography of the primary narrator that Carey has described Hipponax as a forerunner to the autobiographical novel.[99]

The greater concentration on the narrator or the figure of the 'poet', in Archaic poetry other than epic, has sometimes been connected with an

[93] Or, as Nelson 1996: 44–53 suggests, on conveying to the audience what it is like to be a farmer.
[94] Cf. pp. 61–3 below and Carey 2000: 173–6.
[95] Schneider 1993 restricts his study to Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Simonides, Alcaeus, Sappho and Anacreon (cf. 21–2).
[96] E.g. Sappho frr. 1, 86.5, 94, 48, 22, 47, 49, 71, 130 V., Anacreon *PMG* 358.
[97] See Schneider 1993: 34–6. [98] Cf. pp. 50–1 above. [99] Carey 2003: 223–4.

emergence of individual self-consciousness, e.g. by Snell, who described the change as 'the emergence of the poets as individuals',[100] indicating a new awareness of individuality and aspects of mental life.[101] We now understand more clearly that the differences between the deployment of poetic voice in, for example, Archilochus and Homer are chiefly generic, indicating different types of poetry, rather than wider intellectual developments.[102] Lyric and iambic poetry have a history older than our surviving texts, and these types of poetry were not born in response to changes in poetic self-awareness, which probably always formed part of this poetry.

Nevertheless, it is worth restating the general problems with using greater narratorial visibility and centrality to document intellectual, social or historical developments. The different generic functions and contexts of the various works of different poets, as well as their own individual aesthetic aims, make explanations of the differences between poets and periods in terms of broader developments of the kind illustrated above very insecure. It seems very probable that we can account for most of the differences between Homeric epic and the works of Sappho or Archilochus as constraints imposed by the type of poetry being composed, or as conscious choices by individual authors. The lack of quasi-biography in the fragments of Stesichorus, and the low level of narrator-prominence there, probably indicates that Homer himself was an influence on the attention one paid to one's narrator.[103] Stesichorus was Ὁμηρικώτατος ('most Homeric', 'Longinus', *On the Sublime* 13.3), and reported as *epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem* ('holding up the weight of epic song with his lyre', Quintilian 10.1.62), hence he adopted the attitude to the role of the narrator he found in his epic models.[104] This tells us nothing about his use of writing, his own place in the intellectual development of Greece or his date. We should refer the differences between the narrators of the martial

[100] Snell 1953: 44. For criticism of Snell's view see Fowler 1987: 3–10 and in general Lloyd-Jones 1971.

[101] In a similar vein Tsagarakis charted a move from 'objective' epic to 'subjective' lyric through intermediate didactic (1977: 1–2 with n. 8), and Stein took greater 'authorial self-consciousness' in Archaic poets such as Archilochus, Hesiod and Sappho as indicating the influence, and the dissemination, of writing (1990: 1–3).

[102] Cf., e.g., Griffith 1983: 38–40, Gentili 1988: 195–6.

[103] Although accidents of preservation may be distorting the picture here. Stoddard 2004: 121–4, 169–70 on Hesiod's *Theogony* raises the possibility that the Hesiodic narrator's greater of use of emotional or evaluative language and explicit commentary on his discourse is a deliberate reaction to the unobtrusive Homeric narrator. See also pp. 94, 96 below.

[104] Cf. Hutchinson 2001: 117.

elegies of Tyrtaeus and the erotic material in Theognis, both performed at symposia,[105] to the different subject matter, audiences and functions of the poems involved (but not different performance conditions,[106] nor different levels of literacy or intellectual capacity). Equally, the differences in the degree and type of Pindaric and Bacchylidean narrators (Pindar using first-person statements in his epinicians much more often than Bacchylides in his – cf. the third-person description quoted above) strongly suggest that personal artistic preference was an important factor.

However, the differences in attitude to narrators and to their place in poems were, as I shall show, important to Hellenistic readers of these texts, and to the Hellenistic poets who found models for imitation, adaptation and exploitation in the different narrators of Archaic poetry.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND CONSISTENCY

The above survey of quasi-biography suggests that in non-epic Archaic poetry in most cases narrators are based, to some degree, on their historical authors – although there can be narrators who are clearly not to be associated with the historical author (e.g. the female speakers in Alcaeus fr. 10 V., Anacreon *PMG* 385, Theognis 257–60, Charon in Archilochus fr. 19 W.).[107] This seems clearly to be true of Alcaeus, Sappho, Pindar, Bacchylides, Solon and the (genuine) poems of Theognis,[108] and probable for Archilochus and Anacreon.[109] There may even have been such a grounding of narrator on author in the longer narrative non-sympotic elegies on the foundations of cities such as the *Smyrneis*, if Bowie is right to suggest Mimnermus fr. 14 W. (οὐ μὲν δὴ κείνου γε μένος καὶ ἀγήνορα θυμὸν | τοῖον ἐμέο προτέρων πεύθομαι, 'for his strength and manly courage were not such, as I learn from my ancestors', vv. 1–2) should be attributed to that poem.[110]

The degree of identification between primary narrator and author will, of course, have varied considerably according to genre, author and text.[111]

[105] See Bowie 1986: 15–22.
[106] Contrast the view of West 1974: 11–13.
[107] Cf. Carey 1986: 67.
[108] I assume there is at least a core of poems by a historical Theognis of Megara. For a different view, see Nagy 1985: 31–4, Edmunds 1997: 40–5. Stehle 1997: 259–61 thinks that Solon is exceptional in comparison with other sympotic poetry as the 'I' is always Solon, as opposed to the speaker or reciter of the poem, a change she associates with writing.
[109] We can probably add Alcman also, at least in some poems – cf., e.g., the self-naming in *PMGF* 17.4 and 39.1. Note, though, that the chorus is plainly the speaker in *PMGF* 1 (the *Louvre Partheneion*).
[110] See Bowie 1986: 29.
[111] Cf. pp. 30–2 above.

We can see in the evidence above a general dependence, outside epic and hexameter hymn, of narrator on historical author in the Archaic period, which is particularly clear in the case of the *name* of narrator and author. This is the most basic way of associating a narrator with a historical author, and a narrator who shares a historical author's name need share no further characteristic. One reason for this widespread use of authors' names as names for primary narrators is perhaps the 'double' nature of the dissemination of much Archaic poetry – initial performance by the historical author of his/her own compositions, followed by a wider spread of these songs through reperformance by performers other than the author.[112] The authorship of the songs will have been obvious on first performance, before an audience familiar with the historical author, but on subsequent, wider, reperformances across the Greek world such authorship might be claimed by the inclusion of the author's name as that of the main speaking voice of the song, the primary narrator.[113]

Some scholars have suggested that Theognis uses self-naming by the primary narrator not only as a claim to authorship, but even as a defence against the theft of his verses, as his 'seal':[114]

> Κύρνε, σοφιζομένῳ μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω
> τοῖσδ' ἔπεσιν, λήσει δ' οὔποτε κλεπτόμενα,
> οὐδέ τις ἀλλάξει κάκιον τοὐσθλοῦ παρεόντος·
> ὧδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ· 'Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη
> τοῦ Μεγαρέως· πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστός'
>
> Cyrnus, let a seal be placed for me, a skilful poet,
> on these verses and if they are stolen this will never escape notice,
> nor will anyone exchange something good which they have for something
> inferior. All will say instead: 'These are Theognis
> of Megara's verses and his name is known to all men.' (Thgn. vv. 19–23)

[112] Cf. Rösler 1985: 138–43, who suggests that narrators in Archaic lyric are more likely to have been biographically grounded because of their original oral performance situation. I focus attention on reperformance and dissemination as also being important to the relationship of narrator and author in such poetry.

[113] Gregory Nagy has proposed an alternative model, suggesting that the Archaic author is a 'myth' (1990: 435–46), created by the process of ongoing recomposition-in-performance giving way, as a song spreads across Greece, to an attempt to repeat a particular version of a song, and the attribution of this song to a named predecessor, who over time acquires various generic and ideal characteristics (1990: 79–81). Cf. also Nagy 1982 for the application of this model to Hesiod, and Nagy 1985 for its application to Theognis.

[114] Cf., e.g., Ford 1985 for a version of the view that Theognis' seal is his name.

Whether or not the much-debated 'seal' is the name of Theognis,[115] I am not suggesting that in the majority of Archaic examples in which primary narrators share their historical authors' names we have such a claim to be able to prevent rivals 'stealing' one's verses. Rather, what we have in these examples is the internalising within the song (and hence the inclusion for wider reperformance) of something which would have been apparent at the original (authorial) performance – that Hesiod, for example, was the author of the *Theogony*.[116]

In some cases an indication of authorship may have been the full extent of the relationship between primary narrator and author. In the case of Hipponax, for example, it seems more plausible to envisage a sharp break between the primary narrator of the sexual and scatological misadventures, and the world of underclass characters he inhabits, and the historical author. The name 'Hipponax' suggests aristocratic origins at variance with the situations depicted in the poems, and it is best not to interpret these as evidence of an actual fall from grace by the historical author.[117] The fact that the primary narrator seems to depict himself as a thief (e.g. frr. 3a and 79 W.),[118] that is as participating in illegal activity, suggests that what is being depicted is not autobiographical reminiscence, even of a distorted kind, but the actions of a fictional persona.[119] If 'Hipponax' was the name of the historical author, as well as his very different narrator, then perhaps the manifest falsity of the first-person narrative, the great gap between narrator and author, served to mark the narrative as fictional and not tantamount to an admission of criminality. The performance conditions of the poems doubtless also played a role here.[120] The fact that some of the targets of Hipponax seem to have been historical may provide an analogue for the fictional persona sharing the historical author's name – Bupalus (βούπαλος) may have been chosen simply because of the echo of βοῦς ('bull') and φαλλός ('phallus'), so that his name would mean 'bull-dick' or

[115] See on this debate Cerri 1990, Pratt 1995 (both of whom suggest the seal is writing, rather than Theognis' name), Edmunds 1997 and the useful survey of Gerber 1997: 124–7.

[116] Hence secondary audiences would not simply regard the first-person utterances of the reperformers as their own, given the obvious difference in name. See, however, Stehle 1997: 15–17.

[117] Cf. Degani 1984: 24–5.

[118] See West 1974: 29, Brown 1997: 80 on these fragments.

[119] Cf. Carey 2003: 220–2, and also Stehle 1997: 242–5 on Archil. fr.196a W. Various scholars have suggested possible models for this persona, such as Odysseus (e.g. Rosen 1990) or the figure of the 'trickster' (e.g. Miralles-Pòrtulas 1988: 129–41).

[120] See Carey 2003: 225–6, who suggests two possible scenarios for the original Ephesian performance of these poems: performance for a restricted elite, and public performance in connection with some cult, allowing for the kind of narrative we find in Hipponax.

similar,[121] and so have shared no more than a name with the historical Bupalus.[122]

Stoddard has recently urged that we should also take the narrator in Hesiod's *Theogony* as an entirely fictional persona.[123] This is principally a response to biographical criticism of Hesiod, which proceeds as if the quasi-biography in Hesiod were a straightforward autobiographical record of the historical author's life.[124] Such an assumption is clearly illegitimate. Nevertheless, it does not follow that, because the Hesiodic primary narrator and the corresponding historical author are not identical, there can be no possible relationship between them. Suggesting that the primary narrator of the *Theogony* might be based on the historical author does not mean that such a primary narrator is not a deliberately constructed literary persona being carefully manipulated by a skilful poet. It is true, of course, that we cannot know what the precise relationship was between narrator and historical author, but this also means that we cannot rule out a connection between the two. It seems more plausible, in the absence of definitive evidence, to posit that the primary narrator in Hesiod is in fact based on the historical author, a pattern which we can discern elsewhere in Archaic poetry, e.g. in Pindar's epinician poetry. Stoddard, in fact, follows Griffith in drawing a parallel between the personas in the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* and those developed in Archilochus or Pindar.[125] But this serves to emphasise the possibility of an authorial grounding of such a narratorial persona – we know that some of the characters mentioned in Archilochus were historical,[126] while Pindar regularly exploits aspects of his own biography, such as his Theban nationality.[127]

[121] See Rosen 1988: 32 for the independent evidence for Bupalus' historicity and the suggestion that his name has been chosen for the sake of a pun.

[122] Scholars usually interpret the relationship between primary narrator and historical author in Archilochus differently, so that there would be variation in this regard within *iambos*. Although it has been suggested that Archilochus' primary narrator is largely fictional, and often taking on a particular role (see, e.g., Dover 1964: 206–11, Diller 1971: 66–7, West 1974: 25–8), the consensus is that the main speaking voice in Archilochus is biographically grounded to some degree (cf., e.g., Carey 1986: 66–7, Gentili 1988: 179–96, Stehle 1997: 213 n. 1, 242 n. 113), though probably considerably fictionalised. The precise degree of fictionalisation involved remains controversial – cf. Irwin 1998: 177–9. In general on the question of the degree of fictionalisation in first-person statements in Archaic poetry see Slings 1990, Bonanno 1995a.

[123] Stoddard 2004: 1–15.

[124] Stoddard 2004: xi singles out West 1966 as typical of this biographical approach.

[125] See Stoddard 2004: 5–12, 33, Griffith 1983: 39–41.

[126] E.g. Glaucus, who appears at frr. 15, 48.7, 105.1, and as 'Glaucus, son of Leptines' at 131.1 W., and seems to be presented as a close friend of the narrator. His seventh-century funerary inscription from Thasos survives: 'I am the memorial of Glaucus, son of Leptines, and the sons of Brentes set me up' (*SEG* 14.565).

[127] E.g. at *I.* 1.1ff.

The fact that the majority of Archaic narratorial personas are based on the historical author has numerous important consequences. Chief among these is the *consistency* of such personas across time and across different works. The clearest extant example of such a persona is Pindar's.[128] There has been extensive discussion in Pindaric scholarship about the different types of first-person statement which the narrator makes, and a division of these into 'epinician' and 'biographical',[129] or into those made by the poet qua laudator and the poet qua poet,[130] which goes back to Bundy's statement that 'when Pindar speaks pridefully in the first person this is less likely to be the personal Pindar of Thebes than the Pindar privileged to praise the worthiest of men'.[131] Most develops this division and argues that in *Pythian* 2, for example, it is only with hymn-like χαῖρε ('hail') in v. 67 that the first-person statements function as those of Pindar the historical individual rather than Pindar the poet.[132]

This division, however, between the biographical and the professional roles of the poet is an unhelpful one in analysing the ways in which the narrator's persona is created and exploited. A consistent and unified persona makes all of the narrator's statements, and this persona is, in its entirety, useful for the control, structure and function of the ode. All of the statements are made by 'Pindar', the narrator based on the author, not some by the historical author and others by an uncharacterised voice of praise.[133] The narrator as *xenos* ('guest-friend') of the *laudandus* and his family enables praise and implies sincerity (ταῦτα, Νικάσιππ', ἀπόνειμον, ὅταν | ξεῖνον ἐμὸν ἠθαῖον ἔλθῃς, 'pass this on, Nicasippus, when you meet my honoured friend', *I.* 2.47–8), as does Pindar's pseudo-spontaneity and occasional digressiveness.[134] The narrator's strong moral outlook (τό γε λοιδορῆσαι θεούς | ἐχθρὰ σοφία, 'to slander the gods is hateful wisdom', *O.* 9.37–8) and his intimacy with the Muses (ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἁμετέρα, 'o queen Muse, my mother', *N.* 3.1) both guarantee truth. The narrator's presentation in general as undergoing but overcoming struggles (e.g. against *phthonos* or 'envy', *N.* 4.36ff.) matches the pattern of πόνος ('toil') followed by ἡσυχία ('rest') of the successful athlete,[135] which Pindar can exploit to associate narrator and athlete very closely and further aid the

[128] See Carey 2000: 173–7. [129] Most 1985: 117. [130] Fowler 1987: 101.

[131] Bundy 1962: I.3. Cf. also Willcock 1995: 67 quoting Lefkowitz 1980a: 35 (= 1991: 133) on 'the poet in his professional role'.

[132] Most 1985: 98–9. [133] Cf. Carey 2000: 176.

[134] E.g. in *P.* 11 in the series of *gnomai* at 25ff. and in the break-off at 38–40. Cf. pp. 68–71 below. Cf. also Carey 2000: 170–4 on the importance to Pindar, Bacchylides and other lyric poets of cultivating *xenia* with one's patron to demonstrate the sincerity of one's praise.

[135] See in general on this Lefkowitz 1991: 161–8.

impression of truth, sincerity and *xenia* (or 'guest-friendship'). Note the first-person plurals:

> τῶ καὶ ἐγώ, καίπερ ἀχνύμενος
> θυμόν, αἰτέομαι χρυσέαν καλέσαι
> Μοῖσαν. ἐκ μεγάλων δὲ πενθέων λυθέντες
> μήτ' ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ πέσωμεν στεφάνων,
> μήτε κάδεα θεράπευε·
>
> And so I, though pained
> in my heart, am asked to call on the golden
> Muse. And from large griefs liberated
> let us not fall in a want of garlands,
> and do not indulge your cares. (*I.* 8.5–7)

It is misleading, therefore, to divide Pindaric statements by function into 'biographical' and 'epinician' – all of the primary narrator's statements build up the consistent personality of the narrator which is exploited for a variety of encomiastic and other purposes, such as the control and structure of the myth and ode, clear in the ability of a digressive narrator to include 'irrelevant' material, or abandon its telling. This type of aesthetic aim demonstrates that Fowler is right to cast doubt on Bundy's presentation of Pindaric self-consciousness and self-reference as merely a function of the encomiastic situation in which Pindar finds himself.[136] It *is* put to encomiastic ends, of course, but these are not the only Pindaric aims. Furthermore, the frequent use of autobiography in the creation of a narratorial persona is not simply a product of the encomiastic situation, as the example of Bacchylides shows – it is a *Pindaric* strategy.[137] Bacchylides chooses, instead, not to have constant narratorial self-reference, and there is far less characterisation of the narrator than in Pindar.[138] We find this only in B. 5.9ff. (characteristically in the third person), 12.4–7 and 13.221ff.:[139]

> τᾶι καὶ ἐγὼ πίσυνο[ς
> φοινικοκραδέμνοις [τε Μούσαις
> ὕμνων τινὰ τάνδε ν[εόπλοκον δόσιν[140]

[136] See Fowler 1987: 101, Bundy 1962: I.4.
[137] Cf. Carey 2000: 176, who stresses that Pindar is building on an earlier tradition of encomiastic persona, but also that he develops the prominent, coherent persona much more fully than his predecessors.
[138] Cf. D'Alessio 1994a: 127 n. 33.
[139] Lefkowitz 1991: 35 posits Pindaric influence on Bacchylides 13, which stresses the narrator's bonds of *xenia* with the patron.
[140] Suppl. Blass.

φαίνω, ξενίαν τε [φιλά-
γλαον γεραίρω
τὰν ἐμοὶ, Λάμπων, ϙ[ὺ πορὼν[141]

I too trusting in it and the crimson-veiled [Muses]
reveal this [newly wreathed gift] of songs,
and celebrate the hospitality which [loves] splendour,
which, Lampon, you [gave] to me. (B. 13.221–6)

These different poetic strategies are related to broader differences between the poets which suggest different overall aims in their respective epinician poems.[142]

My view of the consistency of the Pindaric narratorial persona commits me to the view that the first persons in the odes refer to this narrator (to 'the poet' as most scholars would have it). The evidence is strong – as Burton notes,[143] no first-person singular pronoun in Pindar demonstrably refers to the chorus or chorus leader as distinct from the poet, and Lefkowitz has further argued that no first-person pronoun or verb, singular or plural, refers to the chorus in Pindaric epinician,[144] so that this is a 'virtually monodic form'.[145] One can distinguish such first-person statements referring to the poet from choral first persons in other Pindaric genres such as *partheneia*, which are typified by much greater self-description of the members of the chorus. D'Alessio has challenged the rigidity of this distinction,[146] but Lefkowitz's main proposition that the vast majority of first-person statements in Pindaric victory odes refer primarily to the poet seems secure and has been largely accepted.[147] D'Alessio suggests that though the first persons usually refer to the poet, they can be 'exemplary' on occasion, encompassing the victor and the audience as well as the primary narrator, e.g.:[148]

[141] Suppl. Barrett.

[142] Cf. Lefkowitz 1991: 107–10, 145 and Most (forthcoming), who emphasises Pindar's greater concern with 'individualisation', stressing the victor over the city, and the poet as his *xenos*, with the inevitable attendant *phthonos*, compared with Bacchylides' desire to 'integrate' the victor, hence his stress on the *polis* and the victor within the *polis*.

[143] Burton 1962: 146. [144] See, e.g., Lefkowitz 1963, 1991, 1995. [145] Lefkowitz 1991: 70–1.

[146] See D'Alessio 1994a: 118–27. [147] See, e.g., Carey 1995.

[148] D'Alessio 1994a: 127–30. Cf. also the similar concept of the 'first person indefinite' developed by Young 1968, e.g. with reference to *P.* 11.50–8, which he argues applies principally to the victor, who chooses the middle estate and avoids tyranny. But this relevance to the victor is achieved through first-person statements which are still made by the primary narrator, 'Pindar', although the sentiments he expresses are obviously tailored to the victor (as we would expect in an epinician poem). In the same way first-person plural statements can of course include audience as well as narrator, particularly at the beginning of odes, e.g. *N.* 9.1 – cf. Kurke 1991: 139 n. 7, and Braswell 1998: 46, who would add *P.* 6.3f.

ἐμοὶ δ' ὁποίαν ἀρετάν
ἔδωκε Πότμος ἄναξ,
εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι χρόνος ἕρπων πεπρωμέναν τελέσει.

Whatever success lord Fate grants me,
I know well that creeping time will bring about its fulfilment.
(*N.* 4.41–3)

But such a use is perfectly compatible with the normal reference of first-person statements being the primary narrator 'Pindar'. D'Alessio also considers it theoretically possible that there could be a first person referring to chorus or community.[149] But I do not think the evidence compelling for any of the suggested choral first-person references in the epinicians.[150] Even if such reference is possible, and we should interpret a very limited number of passages in this way, it is clear that the Pindaric 'I' does not vary violently in reference as suggested by Slater, who thinks the Pindaric 'I' 'implies in fact a vague combination of Pindar, chorus and chorus leader'.[151]

The ultimate guarantee of this consistency of the narratorial persona is the autobiographical grounding of the narrator. In the case of Pindar such autobiography can be as subtle as an allusion to the Theban nationality of the narrator (μᾶτερ ἐμά, . . . χρύσασπι Θήβα, 'my mother, . . . golden-shielded Thebe', *I.* 1.1). Pindar can exploit his Theban nationality further, by describing his grief as a result of the Thebans fighting for the Persians at Plataea (*I.* 8.5ff.) and using it as explicit justification for praising an Aeginetan (as Thebe and Aegina were twin sisters):[152]

χρὴ δ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοισι Θήβαις τραφέντα
Αἰγίνᾳ Χαρίτων ἄωτον προνέμειν,
πατρὸς οὕνεκα δίδυμαι γένοντο θύγατρες Ἀσωπίδων
ὁπλόταται

And one brought up in Thebes with its seven gates must make
first offering to Aegina of the pick of the Graces,
because they were twin daughters of their father,
youngest of the Asopidae. (*I.* 8.16–18)

[149] See D'Alessio 1994a: 127.

[150] See, however, Krummen 1990: 136–41 for a different view of, e.g., *P.* 5.76, where she suggests ἐμοὶ πατέρες refers to the Cyrenean chorus.

[151] Slater 1969: 89. For a similar view cf. Gentili 1990: 20–1. Floyd 1965 suggested that a varying reference of the Pindaric 'I' might be signalled to the audience through the singing of different parts by the whole chorus or just the chorus leader. Such reference Floyd suggests might include the victor (e.g. at *P.* 8.55ff.). See Floyd 1965: 188–90. Anzai 1994, in contrast, thinks the 'I' is always choral.

[152] Cf. Carey 1995: 93–4, who notes these examples and cites also *O.* 6.84ff., where 'Pindar' claims Metope as a grandmother, as the mother of Thebe, again to stress a close connection with the victor.

Pindar can also play with the fact that he was an encomiastic poet much in demand, as at *O.* 10.*init.* with the reference to a delay in meeting a commission.[153] Pindar also develops this picture of his narrator as a poet in a very personal passage expressing the narrator's closeness to the *laudandus* in *Pythian* 3:

> τῷ μὲν διδύμας χάριτας
> εἰ κατέβαν ὑγίειαν ἄγων χρυσέαν
> κῶμόν τ' ἀέθλων Πυθίων αἴγλαν στεφάνοις,
> τοὺς ἀριστεύων Φερένικος ἔλεν Κίρρᾳ ποτέ,
> ἀστέρος οὐρανίου
> φαμὶ τηλαυγέστερον κείνῳ φάος
> ἐξικόμαν κε βαθὺν πόντον περάσαις.
> ἀλλ' ἐπεύξασθαι μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω
> Ματρί, τὰν κοῦραι παρ' ἐμὸν πρόθυρον σὺν
> Πανὶ μέλπονται θαμά
> σεμνὰν θεὸν ἐννύχιαι.
> εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, Ἱέρων,
> ὀρθὰν ἐπίστᾳ, μανθάνων οἶσθα προτέρων
> ἓν παρ' ἐσλὸν πήματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς
> ἀθάνατοι.
>
> If I had landed bringing for him the twin favours of golden health and a revel as radiance in addition to the wreaths of the Pythian games, which Pherenicus once took for victory at Cirra, I declare that I would have appeared for that man as light more brilliant than any star in the sky, when I had crossed the deep sea. But I myself want to pray to the Mother, a holy goddess, whom, with Pan, girls often sing to at night before my front door. But, Hieron, if you know how to understand the correct meaning of sayings, you have learnt from poets of old that the gods bestow on mortals two evils for every good. (*P.* 3.72–82)

Here the narrator expresses the strong wish to bring health and athletic victory to Hieron, who seems to be suffering from an illness, and makes it clear that this would be the most welcome arrival of all for his *laudandus*. This in itself suggests a close relationship with Hieron, and this relationship is in fact built up over a number of odes celebrating his victories.[154] The mention of Pherenicus, the horse whose victory at the Olympic games

[153] Cf. also *N.* 3.76–80 and Carey 1995: 93.

[154] I.e. *O.* 1, *P.* 1, *P.* 2, *P.* 3, and also, in a more diffuse way, the other odes for victors from Syracuse or Aetna, *O.* 6, *N.* 1, *N.* 9. The audiences for the first performances of these odes, as for their reperformances, must have overlapped substantially.

Pindar celebrated in *Olympian* 1,[155] may hint at these victory odes, though here the explicit reference is to a victory in the horse race at the Pythian games. There then follows a statement which seems explicitly to claim a desire for prayer on the narrator's part, and report similar religious activity outside the narrator's house. Whether or not this reflects a fact about the geography of Pindar's neighbourhood in Thebes, this passage does construct such a fact for the narrator, and the most plausible explanation is that this is meant to imply something similar of the author. The narrator then goes on to cite a saying from 'poets of old', which draws attention to his own status as a poet of today, with a strong historical and emotional bond with Hieron.

The consistency of persona exploited in Pindar, dependent on facts (or implied facts) about the author's biography, is possible because of the reperformance of Pindaric odes around the Greek world to a number of audiences over time, and the concurrent diffusion of texts of Pindar. Hence there would have been 'a Pindaric corpus before the age of the book'.[156]

The evidence for narratorial consistency across texts and time is clearest for Pindar, because of the state of preservation of Archaic poetry, but as we have seen is likely in the case of Hesiod, who refers to the *Theogony* at the beginning of the *Works and Days*, and several other Archaic poets. The first-person sexual narratives of Archilochus and Hipponax seem to feature the same characters (e.g. Lycambes and his daughters, Bupalus and Arete) in several poems, making it likely that the narrator was a consistent character, in the case of Archilochus probably based on the author.[157] The political poems of Alcaeus and Solon display similar political opinions and allegiances across different poems, while we find the image of the poetess Sappho in a circle of female friends with whom she develops strong attachments in several different poems. There may have been, of course, considerable variety within these consistent personas, with poets emphasising one aspect or another of the overall picture depending on the purpose or audience of the poem (e.g. in Pindar the Sicilian odes with their emphasis on the greatness of kingship compared to the doubts about the αἶσα τυραννίδων, 'the lot of tyrannies', in *P.* 11). Some types of poem may have had much weaker connections between narrator and author,[158] or

[155] It is sometimes thought that *N.* 7.101–4 might be a cross-reference to Pindar's *Paean* 6 (see, e.g., Carey 1995: 93), but Slater 2001 argues powerfully against interpreting the lines in such a way as to imply a Pindaric apology.

[156] Carey 1995: 90.

[157] Hipponax, however, seems an exception – see pp. 59–60 above.

[158] E.g. those on sympotic themes such as wine, Bowie 1993: 36.

generally have excluded biographical material about the narrator.[159] But on the whole it seems possible to generalise (cautiously, because of the fragmentary evidence) that in Archaic poetry outside Homer the principal narratorial persona of an author was based on that author, and united several works by the same poet.

The narratorial self-description in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* discussed above provides an unusual and instructive example of such grounding of the narrator on the 'historical author'. The description of the narrator as a 'blind man from Chios' (vv. 169–75) is anomalous within a hexameter hymn, and is often taken as the source of the later tradition of Homer as a blind Chian.[160] But such an anomalous description in a hymn which linguistic evidence shows cannot be by Homer or (straightforwardly, at least) by the late sixth-century Cynaethus to whom it is also attributed[161] would serve no purpose. Why would an anonymous poet insert such a reference, and claim about himself that 'all his songs are the best into the future' (*h.Ap.* 173)?[162] This reference to the best of poets is, as Burkert notes, to Homer, to an already existing tradition about Homer as a Chian,[163] similar to the reference in Simonides fr.eleg. 19.1 W., 'the finest thing the man from Chios spoke', introducing *Il.* 6.146. The poet of the hymn has adopted the device of grounding the narrator on the biography of the 'historical author' which was to be found in Archaic poetry outside Homer, and put it to use as a claim on Homeric authorship.[164]

PSEUDO-SPONTANEITY

It should be clear, then, that my suggestion that primary narrators in Archaic poetry (outside epic and hexameter hymn) are often based on their historical authors should not be misunderstood as a claim that we should interpret such narrators in a straightforward 'biographical' manner – such grounding

[159] E.g. epic, and possibly choral poetry, where Carey 1995: 92–6 notes the far greater prominence of the narrator in Pindar as compared to Alcman, Ibycus and Bacchylides.

[160] E.g. by Allen–Halliday–Sikes 1936: 226.

[161] See Janko 1982: 114–15. Cynaethus is named as the author by the scholia to Pindar *N.* 2.1c (Drachmann 1903–27: III.29, 12–18). For the view that Cynaethus was responsible for the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* in the form we have it cf. Aloni 1989, West 1999.

[162] See Burkert 1979: 57.

[163] See West 1999: 369–70, and also Graziosi 2002: 220–7 on the Athenian role in promoting the connections between Homer and Chios.

[164] See also Carey 2000: 166–7. West 1999 connects the claim of Homeric authorship with the Homeridai's promotion of various poems as the work of 'Homer', whom he thinks they invented as their ancestor. He argues that this promotion became particularly influential from the last part of the sixth century.

of narrator on author, even where the narrator strongly recalls the historical author, does not amount to identity.[165] The narrator is distinct from the author, and this separation was clearly well established and important in the functioning of Archaic poetry. This is clear from the phenomenon of pseudo-spontaneity, which is also a striking way of drawing the audience's attention to the presence of the narrating voice.

Many Archaic lyric poems contain elements which give the impression of extempore composition, as if the poet is still composing while the song is under way, even though it has clearly been carefully designed in advance.[166] Amongst the most explicit pseudo-spontaneous devices are self-corrections,[167] such as the break-off:

ἦρ', ὦ φίλοι, κατ' ἀμευσίπορον τρίοδον ἐδινάθην,
ὀρθὰν κέλευθον ἰὼν τὸ πρίν· ἤ μέ τις ἄνεμος ἔξω πλόου
ἔβαλεν, ὡς ὅτ' ἄκατον ἐνναλίαν;

Is it, friends, that at the crossroads where paths meet I got confused,
although I was on the right path before? Or did some wind blow me off course,
like a ship in the sea? (*P.* 11.38–40)

Pindar here, as often, imitates a speaker 'who is deciding where his poem shall go, stopping himself from going on too long or treating an inappropriate subject',[168] even though the audience realises this must have taken place in the past. This is an aspect of the separation of author and narrator in lyric – the narrator can appear to have gone astray because the audience knows the poem is in fact artfully constructed by the author.[169] This sort of break-off is extremely common in Pindar, whose epinicians, as for many other features of Archaic poetry, provide the fullest evidence for pseudo-spontaneity. 'Pindar' gives a variety of reasons for the abandonment of particular narratives or topics, e.g.:

- *Piety* – ἐμοὶ δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων τιν' εἰπεῖν· ἀφίσταμαι ('It is impossible for me to call one of the blessed gods a glutton: I stand aside', *O.* 1.52), ἀπό μοι λόγον | τοῦτον, στόμα, ῥῖψον ('mouth, throw this story away from me', *O.* 9.35–6), διασωπάσομαί οἱ μόρον ἐγώ ('I shall remain silent about his fate', *O.* 13.91), αἰδέομαι μέγα εἰπεῖν ἐν

[165] Cf. pp. 30–4 above. On the dangers of straightforward autobiographical readings of Archilochus see Owen 2003.

[166] Carey, e.g. 1991: 551, terms this 'oral subterfuge'. See Bonifazi 2000 for an important critique of this concept which suggests, for example, that the impression of extempore composition also draws the audience's attention to the here and now of the performance of the ode and its praise, involving the audience more closely in the communication of praise, rather than simply providing 'freshness'.

[167] Cf. Scodel 1996: 64.

[168] Scodel 1996: 64.

[169] See Miller 1993: 21–2, Scodel 1996: 67, Schmitz 1999: 161 and cf. p. 34 above.

δίκᾳ τε μὴ κεκινδυνευμένον ('I am ashamed of telling of a great act unjustly attempted', *N.* 5.14).

- *Length/size* – μακρά μοι νεῖσθαι κατ' ἀμαξιτόν ('it is a long way for me to go on the wagon-road', *P.* 4.247), τὰ μακρὰ δ' ἐξενέπειν ἐρύκει με τεθμός ('the song's convention stops me from narrating at length', *N.* 4.33), μακρὰ μὲν τὰ Περσέος ἀμφὶ Μεδοίσας Γοργόνος ('Perseus' adventures with the Gorgon Medusa are long', *N.* 10.4), πάντα δ' ἐξειπεῖν ... ἀφαιρεῖται βραχὺ μέτρον ἔχων ὕμνος ('the brevity of my song prevents me from telling every one', *I.* 1.60–3), ἐμοὶ δὲ μακρὸν πάσας <ἀν>αγήσασθ' ἀρετάς· ('it would be long for me to relate all the successes', *I.* 6.56), ἄπορα γὰρ λόγον Αἰακοῦ | παίδων τὸν ἅπαντά μοι διελθεῖν ('I cannot recount the whole story of the children of Aeacus', *N.* 4.71–2), βραχύ μοι στόμα πάντ' ἀναγήσασθ' ('my mouth is too small to relate everything', *N.* 10.19).
- *Irrelevance/straying* – τί κομπέω παρὰ καιρόν; ('why do I vaunt beyond due measure?', *P.* 10.4), κώπαν σχάσον, ταχὺ δ' ἄγκυραν ἔρεισον χθονί ('hold the oar, and quickly fix the anchor firmly in the ground', *P.* 10.51), θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἀλλοδαπάν | ἄκραν ἐμὸν πλόον παραμείβεαι; ('my heart, to what foreign headland are you steering my ship astray?', *N.* 3.26–7).
- *Avoiding tedium* – ἀλλ' αἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος ('but tedium soon follows praise', *O.* 2.95), κόρον δ' ἔχει | καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ τέρπν' ἄνθε' Ἀφροδίσια ('even honey and the pleasant flowers of Aphrodite can bring tedium', *N.* 7.53–4).

We also find many of these types in other Archaic poets, e.g. the pious break-off at Ibycus *PMGF* S166.22 (καὶ τὸ] μὲν οὐ φατόν ἐστιν, 'this is not to be spoken of'),[170] the self-accusations of irrelevance at Semonides fr. 10 W. (τί ταῦτα διὰ μακρῶν λόγων | ἀνέδραμον; 'why did I run through these things with a long account?') and Hesiod *Th.* 35 (ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην; 'but why these things about oak or rock?'), and the instruction to the Muse at Bacchylides 5.176–8 (λευκώλενε Καλλιόπα, | στᾶσον εὐποίητον ἅρμα | αὐτοῦ, 'white-armed Calliope, stop your well-built chariot here'). Those which portray the narrator as having gone off course make the most explicit reference to the song as an ongoing composition, but even those which reject a tale already told on moral grounds portray the narrator as having made a decision to turn his narrative in a different direction, as if the poem could only be redirected,

[170] See West 1969b for the supplements here.

rather than rewritten.[171] The mentions of tedium or κόρος suggest the potential reaction of an audience to an ongoing song. These are, of course, supposed to anticipate and prevent such reactions, but their presence aids the production of pseudo-spontaneity.

The functions of pseudo-spontaneity are various. One particularly prominent use to which it is put, both in encomiastic and hymnal poems, is to stress the sincerity of the narrator. In poems praising men, such as those of Pindar, the fiction of extempore composition counterbalances the monetary relationship between patron and poet, so that it appears that praise for the victor has just entered the narrator's mind.[172] The sudden, unpremeditated nature of the praise makes it seem genuine, rather than paid for. We see this in the numerous passages in Pindar which emphasise the merits of the 'straight vaunt', e.g.:[173]

> σοφίαι μέν
> αἰπειναί· τοῦτο δὲ προσφέρων ἄεθλον,
> ὄρθιον ὤρυσαι θαρσέων,
> τόνδ' ἀνέρα δαιμονίᾳ γεγάμεν
> εὔχειρα, δεξιόγυιον, ὁρῶντ' ἀλκάν,
> Αἴαν, τεόν τ' ἐν δαιτί, Ἰλιάδα, νικῶν ἐπεστεφάνωσε βωμόν.
>
> Skills are difficult,
> but when offering this prize,
> boldly shout out loud
> that this man by a god's grace was born
> with good hands, lithe limbs, a bold look
> and, Aias, son of Ileus, being victorious
> he has crowned your altar at your feast. (*O.* 9.107–12)

Such direct praise also appears in strongly pseudo-spontaneous contexts, as when the Pindaric narrator asks himself at whom he is shooting, and then proclaims the sincerity of his praise in *Olympian* 2:

> ἄγε θυμέ· τίνα βάλλομεν
> ἐκ μαλθακᾶς αὖτε φρενὸς εὐκλέας ὀϊστοὺς ἱέντες; ἐπί τοι
> Ἀκράγαντι τανύσαις
> αὐδάσομαι ἐνόρκιον λόγον ἀλαθεῖ νόῳ,
> τεκεῖν μή τιν' ἑκατόν γε ἐτέων πόλιν φίλοις ἄνδρα μᾶλλον
> εὐεργέταν πραπίσιν ἀφθονέστερόν τε χέρα
> Θήρωνος.

[171] Cf. Carey 1995: 100. [172] Cf. Scodel 1996: 69.

[173] Cf. Bundy 1962: I.15–19, who also cites B. fr. 20 C.20ff. for a contrast between inspired praise and lengthy, more mechanical praise.

Come, my heart: at whom are we shooting now,
firing our glorious arrows from a gentle mind? At Acragas, and stretching my bow
I will swear with a true mind that in one hundred years no city
has generated a man at heart more bountiful to his friends
and in action more generous
than Theron. (vv. 89–95)

This Pindaric emphasis on the sincerity of his praise mirrors the stress on the relationship between poet and patron as one of *xenia* (cf. *P.* 10.64–6), which itself counteracts the true (monetary) relationship, and suggests the praise is sincere.[174]

Narratorial sincerity is also the aim of a pseudo-spontaneous feature of the Archaic *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, where the strikingly unusual apostrophe to Leto in vv. 14ff. gives the impression of deep and sincere feeling on the part of the narrator.[175] The apostrophe might seem irrelevant to the greater purpose of the hymn, and to have intruded 'spontaneously', but this very impression makes the praise of Leto appear sincere.

Pseudo-spontaneity also gives the author considerable control over what to include in a poem and how to structure a work. The impression of extempore composition in Pindar, for example, allows the inclusion of 'rejected' material, such as the explanation of Pelops' ivory shoulder which is condemned as impious in *O.* 1 – we hear the myth, even as it is rejected.[176] The pseudo-spontaneous pose of the narrator makes this sort of structure possible.[177]

This pose, and the maintenance of it, seem a good explanation for the inclusion in some Pindaric epinician myths of material which seems either irrelevant or problematic with regard to the encomiastic purpose of the poem, e.g. the puzzling narration in *Pythian* 11 of the matricide of Orestes as the culmination of the myth:

ἀλλὰ χρονίῳ σὺν Ἄρει
πέφνεν τε μάτερα θῆκε τ᾽ Αἴγισθον ἐν φοναῖς.

But, in time with Ares' help,
he both killed his mother and put Aegisthus to death. (vv. 36–7)

[174] See Lefkowitz 1991: 32–37.

[175] See Miller 1986: 19. Cf. pp. 47–8 above for the anomalous use of apostrophe in this hymn, and its unusual nature in general.

[176] The grounds of rejection, of course, also present the narrator as a particular sort of personality – cf. Carey 1995: 97–100, and pp. 97–9 below.

[177] We do not, however, find this pseudo-spontaneous pose throughout every Pindaric victory ode – cf. D'Alessio 2004: 278–80.

This 'getting carried away' with the narration is part of the creation of the pseudo-spontaneity in this ode – the narrator goes too far, and this is immediately marked for the audience by the narrator's statement that he has digressed (*P.* 11.38–40, quoted above). The same poem exploits this pseudo-spontaneous pose to include a series of *gnomai* at *P.* 11.25ff. which are strongly reminiscent of unpremeditated speech in their linear continuity without overall coherence.[178] This narratorial 'spontaneity', which ends with a *gnome* about the dangers of greatness – ἴσχει τε γὰρ ὄλβος οὐ μείονα φθόνον· | ὁ δὲ χαμηλὰ πνέων ἄφαντον βρέμει ('because happiness brings with it no lesser envy, but the humble man roars unheard', *P.* 11.29–30) – has in fact ended with a thought which anticipates the considerations of the final triad concerning the αἶσα τυραννίδων ('the lot of tyrannies') and success and the avoidance of envy on the part of victor, who finds ὄλβος ('happiness') in more cooperative efforts (τῶν γὰρ ἀνὰ πόλιν εὑρίσκων τὰ μέσα μακροτέρῳ | ὄλβῳ τεθαλότα, 'because I find in the city the middling sort blooming with more long-lasting happiness', *P.* 11.52–3). This reveals the careful design of the author.[179]

Often, however, such 'narrative momentum' as we see at *P.* 11.36–7 is not flagged,[180] and in such cases we are dealing not so much with the creation of pseudo-spontaneity as with its exploitation. At *P.* 8.48ff. the mention of Adrastus and his situation after the battle of the Epigoni at Thebes seems irrelevant, and the narrator simply changes the subject. But they are relevant from the *author's* point of view, anticipating as they do the comments on the changeability of fortune in the famous final triad of *P.* 8.[181]

The presence of pseudo-spontaneous devices such as those sketched out above is perhaps one reason for the exaggeration of the difference between the 'orality' of the Archaic and Classical periods and the 'literacy' of the Hellenistic period.[182] Such pseudo-spontaneity, however, is most common in poems furthest removed from spontaneity – e.g. the carefully rehearsed and constructed epinicians of Pindar or the choral *partheneia* of Alcman, requiring the coordination of a trained chorus.[183] This contrasts with the distinct lack of such 'pseudo-oral' features in, for example, the Homeric epics. When the Homeric narrator makes explicit a reference to the exclusion of irrelevant material, he achieves this through the much less

[178] See Miller 1993: 50. [179] See Miller 1993: 50–3.
[180] See Miller 1993: 23 for the term. [181] So Miller 1993: 31–4.
[182] Though such effects are extensively developed in the Hellenistic period, e.g. in Callimachus' 'mimetic' hymns, on which see Depew 2000 and pp. 109–15 below.
[183] Cf. Scodel 1996: 63–4.

pseudo-spontaneous device of *praeteritio* at *Il.* 2.488ff. Homer did not feel it necessary, unlike later Archaic poets, to construct an 'oral' setting for his poems.

NARRATOR AND MUSE

Different poets also developed their principal narratorial personas through the depiction of their relationship to the Muses.[184] In Homer, for example, the narrator is explicitly subordinate to the Muse, and wholly dependent on her for his knowledge of the events of the story (ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε πάρεστέ τε ἴστε τε πάντα | ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἷον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν, 'because you are goddesses and are everywhere and know everything, but we hear only rumour and know nothing', *Il.* 2.485–6). This is the way the relationship is constructed throughout the epic, not just in the Catalogue of Ships,[185] as the questions put to the Muses both explicitly (*Il.* 2.761–2, 11.218–20, 14.508–10, 16.112–13) and implicitly (e.g. *Il.* 5.703–4, 8.273) indicate.[186] It is true, however, that the epic is not the expression of the Muse nor narrated by the Muse.[187] The relationship is portrayed as one of communication.[188] At the beginning of the *Iliad* the narrator first invokes the Muse, then asks her τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; ('which god then brought those two together in conflict to fight?', v. 8), further directing the Muse as to where the narrative should begin. The Homeric narrator plays an active role in the telling of the narrative, as the self-description of the bard Phemius implies:

> αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἵμας
> παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν·
>
> I am self-taught, and a god implanted in my mind manifold paths of song.
> (*Od.* 22.347–8)

This indicates an awareness of the narrator's own part in the composition and performance of song.[189] Indeed, in one sense the Muses are a way for the poet to comment on his narration, to reflect on his own role as

[184] See in general on the Muses in ancient literature Spentzou–Fowler 2002: 1–28, with further bibliography, and for useful comments on a number of relevant Archaic and Classical passages see Lanata 1963.

[185] See, however, Bowie 1993: 13–14.

[186] See Minton 1960: 304.

[187] Cf. Bowie 1993: 12. For the opposite view see Lenz 1980: 27, Rabel 1997: 19–21. See in general the discussion at Stoddard 2004: 61–3.

[188] See Murray 1981: 96–7.

[189] Cf. also *Od.* 8. 44–5, and Lanata 1963: 14, who suggests the bard's contribution is in the skill to give shape to and arrange the content given by the Muses, rather than in generating new content himself.

narrator.[190] The Homeric narrator is no unconscious instrument of the divine. Nevertheless, the pay-off for the formal subordination of the narrator is in Homer omniscience – the narrator has complete access to the story (ἴστε τε πάντα, 'you know everything').[191]

In Hesiod we find a similar picture of dependence, particularly in the description of his initiation by the Muses at the beginning of the *Theogony* (e.g. ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν | θέσπιν, 'they breathed into me a divine voice', vv. 31–2), and in the invocations of them at *Th.* 104ff., 965ff.[192] But there is also more characterisation of the narrator,[193] and a greater stress on his contribution and control of his song.[194]

The narrator's own contribution to his songs is apparent in the *Theogony* immediately after the initiation by the Muses, where we find a break-off which makes reference not to the Muses, but to the narrator ('but why these things about oak or rock?', v. 35), and then what we can most naturally take as a self-apostrophe by the narrator: τύνη, Μουσάων ἀρχώμεθα ('you, let us begin with Muses', v. 36), restarting the 'hymn to the Muses' which opens the *Theogony*. Hence, though the ἀοιδός ('singer') is Μουσάων θεράπων ('servant of the Muses', *Th.* 100), it is clear that this means he is the free servant, not the slave, of the Muses.[195] Furthermore, in the invocation to the Muses at *Th.* 104ff., which ends this 'hymn', it is the narrator who directs the Muses as to the subject of his song:[196]

> κλείετε δ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος
>
> tell of the holy race of the immortals; (v. 105)

[190] Cf. de Jong 1987: 46.

[191] See Lanata 1963: 2, 5–6. For differences in the use of the Muses between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* see Maehler 1963: 30–4 and Stehle 1997: 199–201, who note the reduced presence of the Muses in the *Odyssey*.

[192] Stoddard 2004: 89–90 also suggests that the Hesiodic narrator is presented as more fallible than the Homeric narrator, e.g. in the confession of his inability to tell of the names of all rivers (*Th.* 369–70), which contrasts with similar statements in Homer which emphasise the narrator's ability to do something that would otherwise be impossible thanks to the help of the Muses (e.g. *Il.* 2.485ff.).

[193] See pp. 48–9 above.

[194] See Stoddard 2004: 60–97 in general on the relationship of the narrator to the Muses in the *Theogony*.

[195] As Murray 1981: 96–7 notes, citing the contrast of the θεράπων ('servant') and the δράστας ('slave') at *P.* 4.287. Cf. also Lanata 1963: 21.

[196] See Stoddard 2004: 63–6, who thinks that the differences, e.g. in chronological ordering, between the song 'Hesiod' requests here from the Muses and the Muses' song summarised at *Th.* 11–21 signal to the audience a more active narratorial role in shaping the narrative. She also notes the greater specificity of these Hesiodic requests to the Muses, in contrast to the more general directions to the Muse as to subject matter and where to begin in the Homeric epics.

εἴπατε δ', ὡς τὰ πρῶτα θεοὶ καὶ γαῖα γένοντο

tell how the gods and earth first came into being; (v. 108)

ταῦτά μοι ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι
ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ εἴπαθ', ὅτι πρῶτον γένετ' αὐτῶν.

Tell these things to me, Muses, who dwell on Olympus
from the beginning, and say which of them first came into being.
(vv. 114–15)

In the *Works and Days*, after an invocation of the Muses, and an invitation to them to sing of Zeus, there comes at vv. 9–10 an address to Zeus:

κλῦθι ἰδὼν ἀίων τε, δίκῃ δ' ἴθυνε θέμιστας
τύνη· ἐγὼ δέ κε Πέρσῃ ἐτήτυμα μυθησαίμην.

You, perceive by seeing and listening, and straighten judgements
with justice, but I would tell of true things to Perses.

This not only indicates the narrator's subordinate position to the greatest of the gods, but also claims a space for 'Hesiod' – the advising of Perses.[197] Moreover, the self-correction at *Op*. 11ff. of *Th*. 225–6 on Eris appears not to depend on the Muses, nor do they appear in the transition from Pandora and Prometheus to the Myth of Ages (*Op*. 106–7) nor where the narrator proclaims:

Νῦν δ' αἶνον βασιλεῦσιν ἐρέω φρονέουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς·

Now I shall tell a fable for the lords who themselves understand.
(*Op*. 202)

We should probably interpret the autonomy and independence implied here as something like the 'double motivation' of Phemius in the *Odyssey*. At vv. 661–2 the narrator declares that he will tell Perses of the will of Zeus (concerning ships):

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἐρέω Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο·
Μοῦσαι γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξαν ἀθέσφατον ὕμνον ἀείδειν.

But even so I shall tell of the will of aegis-wielding Zeus,
because the Muses taught me to sing wondrous song.

[197] See Stein 1990: 49–50. Stoddard 2004: 190–1 would go further and thinks that these lines amount to a refusal to invoke the Muses in the *Works and Days* in contrast to the *Theogony*, which contributes to the development of an 'unreliable narrator' in the former. But the Muses are not needed for the everyday truths of farming in the same way as for theogonic poetry, in a pattern which is widespread in Archaic poetry.

While the first line here recalls the previous transitions, the second makes it clear that the narrator's contribution to the song, and his abilities, ultimately depend on the Muses.

In Hesiod we also find the explicit raising of the problem of the authority of the narrator and his claims to truth (implicit in Homer through the Muses as guarantors of truth/knowledge):

> ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
> ἴδμεν δ', εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι.
>
> We know how to tell many lies which are like true things,
> we know how, when we wish, to tell the truth. (*Th.* 27–8)

The fact that the Muses claim for themselves the ability to speak falsely as well as truly is clearly not a destabilising of Hesiod's own narratorial authority, but used as a foil to stress his own truthfulness, perhaps in contrast to the epics of Homer.[198] We can perhaps guess at a similar function for Solon fr. 29 W. (πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἀοιδοί, 'singers tell many lies'), and it is clear in Xenophanes' accusation (fr. 11 D.–K.) that Homer and Hesiod attribute improper behaviour to the gods. These accusations of falsehood are, however, implied claims of one's own truthfulness and authority. In the Hellenistic period problems of poetic and narratorial authority are prevalent and poets use them to ironise and undercut their own narrators.[199] There is an important Archaic precursor to this experimentation with authority, truth and voice in Pindar's *Olympian* 1, though it hardly amounts to the problematising of poetic authority we find in Callimachus or Apollonius.

Pindar stresses the power of poetry to deceive (*O.* 1.28–9) and make the unbelievable believable (vv. 30–2), and then echoes, in the final praise of

[198] See Davison 1962: 146–7, Lanata 1963: 24–5 (who notes that Hesiod may be acknowledging the power of a different sort of poetry), Bowie 1993: 20–2, and Scodel 2001: 115–23 for criticism of this traditional view. Stoddard 2004: 80–5 follows Clay 1988: 327–31 in suggesting that the Muses are contrasting lies which are indistinguishable from mortal truths (ἔτυμα) with immortal truths (ἀληθέα), in order to emphasise the separation of mortal and divine, and the (privileged) access to divine truths which the Muses are giving Hesiod. Cf. also on these lines Pratt 1993: 106–12, who suggests that the Muses' lines leave open the possibility of plausible fictions in Hesiod's own poetry, and that audiences may not be able to tell these apart from the truths in his poetry. Pratt in general sets herself against the assumption that Archaic poets are interested only in promoting the truth of their own poetry, and suggests that lies/fiction could be presented more positively.

[199] E.g. in Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*, on which see pp. 120–2 below. Cf. in general on poetic and narratorial authority in Hellenistic poetry pp. 15–16 above.

Hieron, the language used of poetry's power to convince one of falsehoods:[200]

δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις ἐξαπατῶντι μῦθοι

Tales deceive decorated with intricate lies; (v. 29)

Χάρις . . . | ἐπιφέροισα τιμὰν καὶ ἄπιστον ἐμήσατο πιστόν

Charis . . ., conferring honour, contrives to make even the unbelievable believable; (vv. 30–1)

πέποιθα δὲ ξένον
μὴ τιν' ἀμφότερα . . . κυριώτερον
τῶν γε νῦν κλυταῖσι δαιδαλωσέμεν ὕμνων πτυχαῖς.
θεὸς ἐπίτροπος ἐὼν τεαῖσι μήδεται
ἔχων τοῦτο κᾶδος

I am sure there is no other host . . .
of those today more powerful for me to decorate in the glorious folds of songs.
The guardian-god of your affairs is contriving
with this in mind. (vv. 103–7)

There then follows an echo of a passage from Hesiod on the persuasiveness of kings:[201]

τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται
βασιλεῦσι.

The best comes to a peak in kings. (*O.* 1.113–14)

ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες· ὃ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅντινα Μοῦσαι
φίλωνται· γλυκερή οἱ ἀπο στόματος ῥέει αὐδή.

Kings are from Zeus, and whoever is loved by the Muses
is blessed, and sweet from his lips flows his speech. (*Th.* 96–7)

Again, as in the case of the Muses' boast of potential falsehoods in the *Theogony*, the echoes in Pindar do not subvert the praise of the ode by suggesting that the narrator, or his *laudandus*, is lying. The parallels operate by recalling for contrast the lies of other men and poets.[202] But they also

[200] Cf. Gerber 1982: 59–67, 158, Pratt 1993: 123–6. For μῦθος in Pindar as an elaboration on λόγος, which Pindar must uncover, removing the accretions deforming the truth, cf. Loscalzo 2001: 168–73, who also discerns this pattern of accretions on truth in Hes. *Th.* 26–8.

[201] See Gerber 1982: 158. [202] Cf. Gerber 1982: 158.

serve to suggest, perhaps, that Pindar is capable of lies,[203] but has no need of them in the case of Hieron – a further encomiastic level. Callimachus adopts, in his *Hymn to Zeus*, this play with ideas of truth and persuasiveness, and the interaction with this passage of the *Theogony*, but with much more disruptive effects.[204]

It is difficult to ascertain the precise relationship of narrator to Muse in *iambos*, because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence, but it seems clear that the narrator's dependence is not so great as in epic, probably because of the largely non-mythic subject matter, which centres around the actions of a persona probably grounded on the historical author and related in the first person. One does not have to invoke the Muses for what one did oneself. Hence we find in Archilochus self-motivated openings for poems such as fr. 168 W. (Ἐρασμονίδη Χαρίλαε, | χρῆμά τοι γελοῖον | ἐρέω, πολὺ φίλταθ' ἑταίρων, | τέρψεαι δ' ἀκούων, 'o Charilaus, son of Erasmon, I'll tell you a funny thing, very dearest of friends, and you'll enjoy it when you hear it') and fr. 185 W. (ἐρέω τιν' ὕμιν αἶνον, ὦ Κηρυκίδη, 'o Cerycides, I'll tell a fable to you'), where the narrator announces the theme in the first person without recourse to the Muses. Nevertheless the Muses are ultimately responsible even for the poetic gifts of an iambicist (Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος, 'knowing the Muses' lovely gift', Archil. fr. 1.2 W.),[205] and, of course, are available to parody epic, as in Archil. fr. 117 W. and Hipponax fr. 128 W.

The poems of Solon, the Theognidean corpus and the poetry of Anacreon all support the hypothesis that the narrator is rarely portrayed as dependent on the Muses when the subject matter is non-mythic. Though Solon fr. 13 W. begins with a prayer to the Muses (κλῦτέ μοι εὐχομένῳ, 'hear me in prayer', v. 2), this does not invoke them in their capacity as givers of knowledge, inspiration or narrative, but as deities on the model of Zeus or Athena, capable of granting wishes for prosperity and popularity (ὄλβον μοι πρὸς θεῶν μακάρων δότε καὶ πρὸς ἁπάντων | ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθήν, 'grant to me success from the blessed gods and good repute amongst all men always', vv. 3–4). They are not needed, however, to provide Solon with knowledge of the political situation in Athens. Noussia has recently drawn attention to the conception of poetry in Solon as an artefact of the poet,[206] in contrast to earlier

[203] Cf. Pratt 1993: 124. [204] Cf. pp. 120–2 below.
[205] Though the fragment is, of course, elegiac, and is couched as a strong first-person statement, εἰμὶ δ' ἐγώ ('I am'), fr. 1.1 W. Cf. Lanata 1963: 34.
[206] E.g. fr. 1.2 W.

divine inspiration of song, and his criticism of earlier poetry,[207] which also shows an independence from the Muses.[208] This forms an important forerunner both to the experimentation with the position and authority of the Muses in Pindar, and to the development of a conception of an alternative means of authorising poetry in the Hellenistic period.[209]

The Muses are not needed in Theognis to provide the narrator with knowledge of his relationship with Cyrnus, or with the advice which the corpus as a whole furnishes a variety of addressees. When they appear, at vv. 15–18, it is in connection with their song at the wedding of Cadmus, hence in a mythological context. Similarly in Anacreon there is no certain example of an invocation of the Muses, who are not required to provide the narrator with his sympotic subject matter. This contrast between mythological subject matter which requires the Muses, and 'contemporary' poetry which does not is explicit in Ibycus *PMGF* S151.23ff. (an encomium for Polycrates of Samos):[210]

καὶ τὰ μὲ[ν ἂν] Μοίσαι σ̣ε̣σοφι̣[σ]μ̣έναι
εὖ Ἑλικωνί̣δ[ες] ἐ̣μβαίεν †λόγω[ι·
θνατ[ὸ]ς† δ' ὀ̣ὔ̣ κ̣[ε]ν̣ ἀνὴρ
διερὸς τὰ ἕκαστα εἴποι

On these things [*sc.* the Trojan War] the skilful Heliconian Muses
might easily begin an account, but no mortal man could tell the details.

Ibycus' subject, in contrast, will be Polycrates. In Alcman, however, we find a much more explicit dependence on the part of the speaker on the Muses as the source of song, and guarantors of its appeal, e.g.:

Μῶσ' ἄγε Καλλιόπα, θύγατερ Διός,
ἄρχ' ἐρατῶν ϝπέων, ἐπὶ δ' ἵμερον
ὕμνῳ καὶ χαρίεντα τίθη χορόν.

Muse Calliope, come, Zeus' daughter,
begin the delightful verses, make the song
seductive and give grace to the dance. (*PMGF* 27)

The narrator here asks the Muse to make the dance as well as the song appealing. The context of this, as of many Alcmanic fragments, is choral,

[207] E.g. fr. 20 W. [208] See Noussia 2001: 49–50.
[209] Cf. Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 3–17 on the use of poetic predecessors as authorities in the Hellenistic period.
[210] Though Ibycus does a good job of including much material he professes he wishes not to sing about.

and one function of the Muse addresses in such songs is to establish the chorus as the speaker:[211]

> Μῶσ' ἄγε Μῶσα λίγηα πολυμμελές
> αἰὲν ἀοιδὲ μέλος
> νεοχμὸν ἄρχε παρσένοις ἀείδην.
>
> Come, Muse, clear-voiced, many-tuned Muse,
> a singer for ever, start a brand new tune for maidens to sing.
> (*PMGF* 14 (a))

The association of the Muses with dance (cf. ἀρχεσίμολπον, 'dance-leading', of the Muse, Stesichorus *PMGF* 250) is of course prominent in choral compositions. However, in none of the invocations of the Muses in Alcman is it explicit that the Muses will provide the mythological matter for the song, though it is possible the Muses played this function on occasion given the presence of the Hippocoontidae as a negative *exemplum* probably related at length in the *Louvre Partheneion* (*PMGF* 1). If the Muses in Alcman were not invoked to provide knowledge of mythological subject matter, and featured even in poems without such a mythological focus, then Alcman would be an exception to the general pattern we can see in Archaic poetry where the Muses provide access to events of the mythological past, but not the contemporary present.

In Stesichorus the Muses seem to be invoked as the providers of mythic narrative, though the expression 'with me' in *PMGF* 210.1 draws attention to the role of the narrator at what is probably the beginning of his *Oresteia*:[212]

> Μοῖσα σὺ μὲν πολέμους ἀπωσαμένα πεδ' ἐμεῦ
> κλείουσα θεῶν τε γάμους ἀνδρῶν τε δαίτας
> καὶ θαλίας μακάρων
>
> you, Muse, pushing aside wars, celebrating with me
> gods' weddings and men's feasts
> and the festivities of the blessed.

Narrators had, of course, already appeared in oblique cases at the beginning of mythological narratives (ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, 'sing to me of the man', *Od.* 1.1). Stesichorus probably also used the Muses as guarantors

[211] Cf. also *PMGF* 11.25. [212] See Gianotti 1975: 47–8.

of truth in his *Palinode*, which rejected the myth of Helen as told in Homer and Stesichorus' *Helen*, and which probably began:[213]

δεῦρ᾽ αὖτε θεὰ φιλόμολπε

Come once more, dance-loving goddess. (*PMGF* 193.9–10)

Given that Stesichorus rejects the Homeric version as untrue (οὐκ ἔστ᾽ ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος, 'this story is not true', *PMGF* 192.1), it seems likely that he invoked the Muse to certify the corrected version. Feeney speculates that the αὖτε ('once more') above may indicate that the Muse is being asked to authenticate the rejection of the very narrative Muse and narrator produced in the earlier *Helen*.[214] The role of the Muse in the *Helen* must, however, remain open, as must the precise means by which the rejection of the previous version was effected in the *Palinode*, and how the Muse was involved (it is surely too much to extrapolate the Muse's influence from ἅτε μουσικὸς ὢν ἔγνω τὴν αἰτίαν, 'since he was skilled in the arts of the Muses he knew the cause [*sc.* of his blindness]', Pl. *Phdr.* 243a).

We can make little of the role of the Muses in Sappho or Alcaeus. In the former they are often paired with the Graces (e.g. frr. 103.5, 128 V.), and their presence is requested (δεῦρο δηῦτε Μοῖσαι χρύσιον λίποισαι, 'come once again Muses, leaving golden . . .', fr. 127 V.), but lack of context obscures their function. The imperative ἐννεπε[('tell') which we can discern at fr. 103.1 V., and what may be a request for Calliope herself to relate a narrative (αὐτὰ δὲ σὺ Καλλιόπα, 'you yourself Calliope', fr. 124 V.), hint at the Muses as providing the material for narrative, but there is no such invocation in connection with surviving narrative portions of Sappho such as fr. 44 or fr. 44 A V. In Alcaeus there is no certain example of a Muse invocation, but the character of the beginning of one poem indicates a degree of narratorial autonomy:[215]

χαῖρε, Κυλλάνας ὀ μέδεις, σὲ γάρ μοι
θῦμος ὕμνην, τὸν κορύφαισ᾽ ἐν αὔταις
Μαῖα γέννατο Κρονίδᾳ μίγεισα
παμβασίληϊ

[213] Note, however, the claim of Chamaeleon (*P.Oxy.* 2506 fr. 26.col.i.2–11, Stesich. *PMGF* 193) that there were two Palinodes, and that the one against Hesiod began χρυσόπτερε παρθένε ('golden-winged maiden', *PMGF* 193.11). But this 'Hesiodic' Palinode was probably never *known* thus (Woodbury 1967: 160–2).

[214] See Feeney 1991: 15–16.

[215] This is the opening of the second poem of book 1 according to schol. A in Heph. *Poem.* p. 170 Consbruch.

> Hail, ruler of Cyllene, because my heart wishes to sing of you,
> whom Maia bore on the peaks themselves, after she had had intercourse
> with the all-ruling son of Cronus. (fr. 308.1–4 V.)

The use of θῦμος ('heart') here marks an important difference in the characterisation of the narrator as compared to the *Homeric Hymns*, in particular the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. Certainty as to whether the Homeric or Alcaic hymn to Hermes is earlier is impossible, but it is still worthwhile to compare them:[216]

> Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει Μοῦσα Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱόν,
> Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα καὶ Ἀρκαδίης πολυμήλου,
> ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον, ὃν τεκε Μαῖα
>
> Sing, Muse, of Hermes son of Zeus and Maia,
> who rules Cyllene and Arcadia rich in flocks,
> the swift messenger of the gods, whom Maia bore. (*h.Merc.* 1–3)

Page thinks that the verbal similarities (e.g. Κυλλάνας ὀ μέδεις ~ Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα) can be accounted for as 'conventional formulas' so that no borrowing need be involved.[217] But the fact that in Alcaeus we have not the invocation of a Muse to sing of Hermes, as in the *Homeric Hymn*, but a declaration of a personal desire to sing, using the same verb (ὔμνην ~ ὕμνει), suggests that Alcaeus may be deliberately varying the Homeric model. The Alcaic narrator emphasises his own role in the production of the song by figuring the impulse to sing as his own. The concurrent use of χαῖρε ('hail/farewell') at the beginning of a hymn, when it is conventional at the end of hymns,[218] demonstrates a similar reversal of usual practice in the *Homeric Hymns*. This is not proof of the priority of the *Homeric Hymn*, of course, but the similarities (and inversions) demand more explanation than the usual appeal to conventionality.

Such variations on normal hymnal practice seem 'proto-Hellenistic', as Parsons has characterised such experimentation in the case of the new fragments of Simonides.[219] Here too the poet adapts hymnal closing formulas for a new purpose:

> ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲ]ν νῦν χαῖρε, θεᾶς ἐρικυ[δέος υἱέ
> κούρης εἰν]αλίου Νηρέος· αὐτὰρ ἐγώ[

[216] Cf. Page 1955: 255, Campbell 1967: 297. [217] Page 1955: 254–5 and cf. also Campbell 1967: 297.
[218] See De Martino–Vox 1996: III.1236. [219] See Parsons 1994: 122 on fr.eleg.10–17.

κικλήισκω] σ᾽ ἐπίκουρον ἐμοί, π̣[ολυώνυμ]ε Μοῦσα,
εἴ̈ πέρ γ᾽ ἀν]θρώπων̣ εὐχομένω[ν μέλεαι·

[But you] now farewell, famed goddess' [son],
she who is marine Nereus' [girl], but I
[call on] you as my auxiliary, Muse [of great name],
[if] men's prayers [concern you at all]. (fr.eleg. 11.19–22)

The narrator bids farewell to Achilles, the 'son of the Nereid', and moves on to another topic, using a formula which itself recalls the ends of *Homeric Hymns* (αὐτὰρ ἐγώ, 'but I'),[220] and an address to the Muse to act as his 'helper'. As Parsons points out,[221] this combines in one poem the proemial hymn and epic narrative of rhapsodic tradition – the Muse is invoked at the beginning of the 'epic' section. We can discern further differences from the past – the 'hymn' is to Achilles (as opposed to a god proper), while the 'epic' seems to be about not the distant past but the battle of Plataea (e.g. ἀνδρῶ]ν, οἳ Σπάρτ[ηι . . . δούλιον ἦμ]αρ, '[of the men], who . . . the day [of slavery] . . . for Sparta', fr.eleg. 11.25), and the form is elegiac.[222]

Most importantly, from our point of view, the narrator characterises his Muse as his ἐπίκουρος, portraying the poem as their joint enterprise, with the Muse as the narrator's military auxiliary,[223] which emphasises the narrator's own contribution, particularly compared to Homer's subordination, given ἀ̣ν̣ [δρὸς] . . . | ὃς παρ᾽ ἰοπ]λοκάμων δέξατο Πιερίδ[ων| πᾶσαν ἀλη]θείην ('of the man . . . who received [the whole truth] from the [violet]-haired Pierides') at fr.eleg. 11.15–17 W. on Homer's commemoration of the generation of Achilles. Aloni explains the contrast in terms of a difference of subject matter similar to that observed above – Homer relies on the Muses for the truth of events to which he was not a witness, but Simonides does not depend on them so completely as he did witness the Persian War.[224] But the narrator still needs the Muses, as suggested by the military metaphor, and his imploring that 'if you ever heeded prayers' ἔντυνο]ν̣ καὶ τόνδ[ε μελ]ί̣φρονα κ[όσμον ἀο]ιδῆς | ἡμετ]έρης ('[equip] also this delicious [arrangement] of [our] song', fr.eleg. 11.23–4 W.).[225] The help the Muse provides will ensure the quality of the song, hence future memory (ἵνα τις [μνή]σ̣ε̣τ̣ᾳι̣, 'so that someone [will recall]', fr.eleg.

[220] Cf., e.g., *h.Cer*. 495, *h.Ap*. 545f. Cf. also Parsons 1992: 32.
[221] See Parsons 1992: 32, 1994: 122. [222] Cf. Parsons 1992: 32.
[223] See Rutherford 2001a: 45; cf. the same meaning for ἐπίκουρος at *O*. 13.97, Stehle 2001: 109–10.
[224] See Aloni 2001: 95. Simonides' primary audience were also witnesses, so that in one sense the narrator is *not* in this case the audience's only way of accessing the 'story' (given by the Muses). Cf. also Stehle 1997: 209–10, 2001: 111.
[225] Cf. Obbink 2001: 71.

11.24 W.), which recalls the Muses as guarantors of the song's appeal in Alcman above.

With Pindar and Bacchylides it becomes possible to go beyond speculation on isolated fragments to see how a narratorial persona is built up in terms of a relationship with the Muses.[226] Though the narrator–Muse relationship in the epinicians is consistent, it is not uniform, and allows for different aspects to be stressed in different poems.[227] In general the epinicians are presented, like the victories they celebrate, as possible only through the agency of the divine. But there is considerable room for familiarity and play, which is one of the most striking elements of the depiction of the Muses in Pindar.

ὍΩ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἁμετέρα, λίσσομαι . . .
τᾶς ἀφθονίαν ὄπαζε μήτιος ἁμᾶς ἄπο·
ἄρχε δ' οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι, θύγατερ,
δόκιμον ὕμνον· ἐγὼ δὲ κείνων τέ νιν ὀάροις
λύρᾳ τε κοινάσομαι

O queen Muse, my mother, I beseech you . . .
Bestow abundance of it from my skill:
begin, daughter, for the ruler of many-clouded heaven
an excellent hymn. I, for my part, shall share it with the voices of these men here and the lyre. (*N.* 3.1, 9–12)

The narrator of *Nemean* 3 begins as a suppliant of the Muse,[228] who is a 'queen', emphasising her divinity,[229] announcing that the chorus is awaiting her song.[230] He then bids that she begin a hymn, which he will pass on to the chorus. Hence he is depicted as an intermediary, a conduit between Muse and audience. This recalls the situation of the subordinate narrator in Homer, and is developed elsewhere in Pindar.[231] At the same time, however, the narrator uses ὦ ('o') with the vocative of the Muse. This use

[226] See in general on the Muses in Pindar Lanata 1963: 74–97, Gianotti 1975: 56–83.
[227] See Lanata 1963: 74–5.
[228] Cf. λίσσομαι ('I beseech') in Pindaric requests to the divine at *O.* 12.1, *P.* 1.71.
[229] Cf., e.g., Hera, *Il.* 1.551 etc.
[230] See pp. 43–4 above for the debate on who sang *N.* 3.
[231] E.g. Μοίσαις γὰρ ἀγλαοθρόνοις ἑκών | Ὀλιγαιθίδαισίν τ' ἔβαν ἐπίκουρος, 'willingly I have come as a helper to the shining-throned Muses and Oligaethidae' (*O.* 13.96–7), and outside the epinicians in μαντεύεο, Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ' ἐγώ, 'Muse, you prophesy and I shall interpret' (fr. 150 S.–M.); ἀοίδιμον Πιερίδων προφάταν, 'the renowned prophet of the Pierides' (*Pae.* 6.6); ἐμὲ δ' ἐξαίρετο[ν | κάρυκα σοφῶν ἐπέων | Μοῖσα ἀνέστασ', 'the Muse set me up as the choice herald of wise verses' (*Dith.* 2.22–4).

indicates impatience, familiarity or lack of reserve and demonstrates that the narrator is treating the Muses as 'his own familiar friends'.[232] Scott notes that Pindar is the first Greek poet to use ὦ of the Muses.[233] In *Nemean* 3 Pindar also makes a claim of kinship ('my mother') which further characterises the narrator as an intimate of the Muses. This intimacy explains why the Pindaric narrator can, in *Isthmian* 2, even imagine the Muse as a madam pimping her songs.[234] In *Nemean* 3 the unusual phrase 'bestow . . . from my skill' in v. 9 emphasises the narrator's own abilities – the narrator asks the Muse to make possible the expression of his own expertise.

Hence even where the relationship appears unequal there are elements suggesting the importance of the narrator and his close connections to the Muses. These are also prominent in passages which portray the epinician as their joint labour:[235]

> Μοῖσα δ' οὕτω ποι παρέστα μοι νεοσίγαλον εὑρόντι τρόπον
> Δωρίῳ φωνὰν ἐναρμόξαι πεδίλῳ
>
> The Muse thus in some way stood at my side as I found a brand new way to unite the voice to the Dorian sandal; (*O.* 3.4–5)

> ἄγ' ἔπειτ' Αἴτνας βασιλεῖ φίλιον ἐξεύρωμεν ὕμνον
>
> Come, let us discover a friendly hymn for the king of Aetna. (*P.* 1.60)

Poets in the Hellenistic period were to take up both the image of the Muse standing beside the poet and the idea that the poet and Muse are joint producers of the song.

There are also passages where the Muses seem to perform duties which are necessary, though in some sense ancillary to the narrator's, hence suggesting a greater contribution on the part of the narrator:

> ἐμοὶ μὲν ὦν
> Μοῖσα καρτερώτατον βέλος ἀλκᾷ τρέφει
>
> And so for me
> the Muse nourishes with strength the most powerful arrow;
> (*O.* 1.111–12)

[232] Cf. Scott 1905: 32–3. See further on the use of the vocative and ὦ in various Greek authors Scott 1903 and 1904, Gildersleeve–Miller 1903, Giangrande 1968, Williams 1973.
[233] At *O.* 10.3, *O.* 11.18, *I.* 6.57 in addition to *N.* 3.1. [234] See *I.* 2.7–8.
[235] This is already implied in the request to grant abundance of song from one's *own* skill in *N.* 3 – cf. Pfeijffer 1999a: 255.

τοῦτο γέ οἱ σαφέως
μαρτυρήσω· μελίφθογγοι δ' ἐπιτρέψοντι Μοῖσαι.

I shall give evidence clearly for this at least,
and the honey-voiced Muses will approve. (*O.* 6.20–1)

The first passage in particular recalls the Muse as ἐπίκουρος ('auxiliary') in Simonides fr.eleg. 11 W. above, as the Muses in *O.* 1 tend the narrator's βέλος ('arrow'), a military task. But it is the narrator who is to fire this arrow. In the second it is the narrator who bears witness as the Muses 'approve'.[236] Their approval is indispensable, of course, but the primary action is the narrator's.

Pindar keeps his narrator in the foreground through regular imperatives to the Muses. Despite the Homeric precedent, the frequency and tone of the commands contribute to the picture of a narrator on close terms with the Muses:

Μοῖσα, τὸ δὲ τεόν, εἰ μισθοῖο συνέθευ παρέχειν
φωνὰν ὑπάργυρον, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλᾳ ταρασσέμεν

Muse, your task, if you undertook to provide for a fee
a silver-crossed voice, is to set it in motion now in this direction,
now in another. (*P.* 11.41–2)

Here the Muse herself seems to have accepted the commission for the ode, and so certain duties which would ordinarily be the narrator's are transferred to her. The narrator, by telling her what she should do, sounds like a narrative superior, relating her options – ἢ πατρὶ Πυθονίκῳ | τό γέ νυν ἢ Θρασυδάᾳ ('either to the father, a Pythian victor, or indeed now to Thrasydaeus', *P.* 11.43–4). A similar hierarchy is implied in *Pythian* 4 in another reversal of the conventional roles of narrator and Muse in epic, where the narrator promises to give the topics of the song to the Muses, rather than receiving them from the Muses:[237]

ἀπὸ δ' αὐτὸν ἐγὼ Μοίσαισι δώσω
καὶ τὸ πάγχρυσον νάκος κριοῦ·

I shall give him and the ram's all-of-gold fleece
to the Muses. (vv. 67–8)

[236] Cf. Race 1997: I.105, who translates ἐπιτρέψοντι as 'assist'. See, however, Scodel 2001: 124 n. 31, who notes that this translation, and those like mine, are outside the normal semantic field of the verb and depend instead on the context.

[237] See O'Higgins 1997: 116.

This implied hierarchy is also present in other passages where the narrator directs the Muse to another section of the ode:

> Μοῖσα, καὶ πὰρ Δεινομένει κελαδῆσαι
> πίθεό μοι ποινὰν τεθρίππων·
>
> Muse, hear me and celebrate beside Deinomenes
> the prize of the four-horse chariot; (*P.* 1.58–9)

> ἔλα νῦν μοι πεδόθεν
>
> drive now for me from the ground. (*I.* 5.38)

The second instruction uses the image of the 'chariot of the Muses',[238] and introduces a series of questions (λέγε, τίνες Κύκνον, τίνες Ἕκτορα πέφνον . . ., 'tell who killed Cycnus, who Hector . . .', *I.* 5.39) which recalls Homeric questioning of the Muses about the deaths of heroes (e.g. at *Il.* 11.218–19). The use of the imperative at the beginning, however, portrays the narrator's obtaining of information from the Muse as one where he is very much in control – *he* seems to steer the course of the poem.[239] Narratorial control can even extend to driving the chariot of song itself:

> ὦ Φίντις, ἀλλὰ ζεῦξον ἤδη μοι σθένος ἡμιόνων,
> ᾗ τάχος, ὄφρα κελεύθῳ τ' ἐν καθαρᾷ
> βάσομεν ὄκχον
>
> O Phintis, yoke now for me the strength of mules
> as swiftly as possible, so that on the pure path
> we may drive the chariot; (*O.* 6.22–4)

> πέποιθα ξενίᾳ προσανέι Θώρακος, ὅσπερ ἐμὰν ποιπνύων χάριν
> τόδ' ἔζευξεν ἅρμα Πιερίδων τετράορον
>
> I trust in the kindly friendship of Thorax, who busily for my sake
> yoked this four-horsed chariot of the Pierides; (*P.* 10.64–5)

> εἴην εὐρησιεπὴς ἀναγεῖσθαι
> πρόσφορος ἐν Μοισᾶν δίφρῳ·
>
> May I be a wordsmith worthy
> to be carried in the Muses' chariot. (*O.* 9.80–1)

[238] On which see, e.g., Lanata 1963: 94–6, Asper 1997: 22–107.
[239] Cf. Lefkowitz 1991: 39.

In the former two passages the chariot is explicitly the Muses' and the driver clearly the narrator. Different metaphors can also place similar stress on the action of the primary narrator. The narrator can be the helmsman of the Muse as when he answers Αἰακῷ σε φαμὶ γένει τε Μοῖσαν φέρειν ('I say to you to take the Muse to the race of Aeacus', *N.* 3.28) to his self-apostrophe θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἀλλοδαπάν | ἄκραν ἐμὸν πλόον παραμείβεαι; ('my heart, to what foreign headland are you steering my ship astray?', *N.* 3.26), or the Muses' archer (again in self-apostrophe):

> ἀλλὰ νῦν ἑκαταβόλων Μοισᾶν ἀπὸ τόξων
> Δία τε φοινικοστερόπαν σεμνόν τ' ἐπίνειμαι
> ἀκρωτήριον Ἄλιδος
>
> But now from the Muses' far-shooting bows
> shower Zeus of the crimson thunderbolts and the sacred
> height of Elis. (*O.* 9.5–7)

The narrator can also relieve the Muses of some of the functions they play in earlier poets in order to draw attention to himself and his role in the production of the poem. At the beginning of the Catalogue of Ships at *Il.* 2.484ff. there is a strongly marked transitional passage, where the Homeric narrator addresses the Muses to request the names of the leaders of the Greeks, and to avoid telling the πληθύν ('masses', 488). In Pindar, however, the narrator often refers to himself instead of the Muse in transitional passages:[240]

> ἵσταμαι δὴ ποσσὶ κούφοις, ἀμπνέων τε πρίν τι φάμεν.
>
> I stand on light feet, taking a breath before speaking; (*N.* 8.19)

> μακρά μοι νεῖσθαι κατ' ἀμαξιτόν· ὥρα γὰρ συνάπτει· καί τινα
> οἶμον ἴσαμι βραχύν
>
> It is a long way for me to go on the wagon-road, for time is pressing,
> and I know a short path. (*P.* 4.247–8)

In *P.* 4.247–8 we can see further use of chariot imagery, again with the Pindaric narrator himself holding the reins. Pindar does not rely on the Muses for such transitions, nor does he cite in his epinicians their authority as a reason for rejecting particular versions of myth (e.g. in *Olympian* 1), or to authorise his own preferred version.[241] It is the narrator's own authority,

[240] See Lefkowitz 1991: 28 and the list of Pindaric break-offs above at pp. 68–9.
[241] Cf. Scodel 2001: 123–5.

built up through strong ethical statements,[242] not the Muses, which authorises rejections of myth such as that of Demeter eating Pelops' shoulder. Pindar also often cites tradition as the source of his narrative, with no explicit mention of the Muses, e.g. λέγεται ('it is said') of Evadne's birth to Pitana (*O.* 6.29), or the story of the appearance of Rhodes, which is introduced with φαντὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων παλαιαί | ῥήσιες ('the ancient speeches of men say', *O.* 7. 54–5).[243] Hence we find in Pindar a degree of independence from the Muses as the source of narrative, which may partly develop and extend the earlier independence from the Muses for non-mythological subject matter (e.g. in Solon and Simonides), and their association in Alcman in particular with guaranteeing a song's appeal, rather than providing the material for it, and which also prefigures the use of poets and tradition as alternative authorities in the Hellenistic period.[244]

The narrator of Bacchylides' epinicians is comparatively more subordinate, which suggests that the particular emphasis on the narrator in Pindar's epinicians is a Pindaric, rather than generic, strategy. In Bacchylides the narrator characterises himself as Μουσᾶν γε ἰοβλεφάρων θεῖος προφ[άτ]ας ('holy prophet of the violet-eyed Muses', B. 9.3) and ἁδυεπὴς ἀ[να |ξιφόρ]μιγγος Οὐρ[αν]ίας ἀλέκτωρ ('sweet-speaking cockerel of [lyre-ruling] Urania', B. 4.7–8), and describes Hesiod as πρόπολος | Μουσᾶν ('Muses' minister', B. 5.192–3), descriptions which recall the narrator as intermediary in Homer and in some Pindaric passages (see above). There is less variety, however, in Bacchylides in the way the relationship is presented. He can invoke the Muses in epic fashion (ὕμνει, γλυκύδωρε Κλεοῖ, 'sing, sweet-gifted Clio', B. 3.3), and the Muses' role as providers of information is explicit, outside the epinicians, at 15.47:

> Μοῦσα, τίς πρῶτος λόγων ἄρχεν δικαίων;
>
> Muse, who first began just words?

The Muses can also inspire and guarantee the excellence of the song:

> τὰν εἰκ ἐτύμως ἄρα Κλειὼ
> πανθαλὴς ἐμαῖς ἐνέσταξ[εν φρασίν,
> τερψιεπεῖς νιν ἀοι̣δαὶ
> παντὶ καρύξοντι λα[ῶ]ι̣.

[242] See Carey 1995: 97–8, Scodel 2001: 133.
[243] Cf. Scodel 2001: 124.
[244] See Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 3–17. The Muses giving beauty to song in Pindar (cf. Scodel 2001: 124–5), or making it appealing in Alcman, recall the function of the Graces in both Archaic (e.g. at *O.* 4.9–10) and Hellenistic poetry (e.g. Callimachus, *Aetia* fr. 7.13–14 Pf.).

> If it is truly all-blooming Clio who has dropped this
> in my mind, songs with words to delight will
> proclaim him to all the people. (B. 13.228–31)

The Bacchylidean narrator, then, is portrayed as dependent on the Muses for the quality and material of his song, and rarely suggests a more important role for himself. It is the Muses, for the most part, who are in control, as when the narrator describes Clio as the helmsman of his thoughts (contrast the Pindaric use of this image above):

> ὡσεὶ κυβερνήτας σοφός, ὑμνοάνασ-
> σ᾽ εὔθυνε Κλειοῖ
> νῦν φρένας ἁμετέρας
>
> Song-mistress Clio, like a wise helmsman set my mind straight now.
>
> (B. 12.1–3)

The narrator does occasionally approach a 'Pindaric' independence, as when breaking off a narrative in B. 10 (τί μακρὰν γ[λ]ῶ[σ]σαν ἰθύσας ἐλαύνω | ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ; 'why, long pressing my tongue straight, do I drive far from the path?', vv. 51–2), or directing Calliope to halt her chariot in B. 5.176–8. There is nothing, however, which resembles the careful development of intimacy with the Muses in Pindar – no claims of kinship or familiar addresses. This is consistent with the less prominent primary narrator in Bacchylides and the organisation of the epinicians along different lines, and probably with different purposes, from Pindar's.[245]

The range of presentation of the relationship of narrator to Muse available to the Hellenistic poets was therefore broad. There were some generic differences of course, chiefly between poems about the mythological past and those about the narrator's present, which made different demands of the Muses. But it is the differences in the autonomy of the narrator from Homeric subordination to the self-motivation stressed particularly in Pindar (with the necessary caveat about distortions due to the accidents of preservation) which is particularly important in the development of Hellenistic narrators such as that in the *Argonautica*.[246]

EMOTION AND EVALUATION

I cover several features of Archaic narrators in this section, such as expressions of opinion or moral judgement by the primary narrator, vocabularies

[245] So Most (forthcoming).
[246] Cf., e.g., Paduano Faedo 1970 and pp. 293–310 below.

of 'emotional' language, exclamations by the narrator, apostrophe of characters, and the ways in which different texts use these devices to create different types of persona. Here too there is a contrast between Homer and non-epic Archaic poetry.

As evaluation and judgement are forceful signs of narrator-prominence, they are generally eschewed by the unobtrusive narrators of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. *Gnomai* on the human condition, for example, are rare in the mouth of the Homeric narrator. When these appear, e.g. at *Il.* 16.688–90, it is to heighten the *pathos* of a scene, and emphasise the narrator's emotional involvement, in this case with Patroclus' fatal decision to disobey Achilles' orders.[247] Characters more usually express such generalisations in Homer, and we also see this division between narrator and characters in their discrete vocabularies – there is a large class of emotional and evaluative language which the narrator tends to avoid.[248] Even so common a word like κακός ('bad/evil') is predominantly a speech-word in Homer.[249] The Homeric narrator can, of course, express an emotional reaction to an event, e.g. in the use of exclamations with νήπιος ('fool'),[250] which imply the pity of the narrator.[251] Even here, however, we find a distinction between speech and narrative – the similar exclamations with σχέτλιος ('wretched') appear only once outside speech, at *Od.* 21.28–9, expressing outrage at Heracles' murderous abuse of *xenia*.[252]

The Homeric narrator also, on occasion, apostrophises his characters. The most notable series of apostrophes is in *Il.* 16, where the narrator speaks directly to Patroclus, who is not addressed outside *Il.* 16, on eight occasions.[253] Several scholars have suggested that straightforward metrical convenience accounts for these apostrophes,[254] but there are serious problems with this view. Genesis does not explain function,[255] and there is a marked frequency of apostrophe to characters at emotionally charged moments, as in the case of Patroclus. Leaving aside gods, the characters addressed are few – in the *Iliad* Patroclus, Menelaus (seven times),[256] Achilles (once),[257] and Melanippus (once),[258] in the *Odyssey* only

[247] See Richardson 1990: 144–5. [248] See in general Krarup 1948, Griffin 1986.
[249] In a ratio of 5:1 compared to narrative, cf. Griffin 1986: 39.
[250] E.g. *Il.* 2.37–8. [251] See Richardson 1990: 161–2. [252] See Griffin 1986: 40.
[253] *Il.* 16.20, 584–5, 692–3, 744, 754, 787–8, 812–13, 843.
[254] See, e.g., Nitzsch 1860, Bonner 1905, Matthews 1980, Yamagata 1989.
[255] Cf. Edwards 1987: 38.
[256] *Il.* 4.127–9, 4.146–7, 7.104, 13.603, 17.679, 17.702, 23.600.
[257] *Il.* 20.2. [258] *Il.* 15.582.

Eumaeus (fifteen times).[259] Hence the bulk of the addresses are to Patroclus, Menelaus and Eumaeus. Homer presents all three as peculiarly sensitive and sympathetic characters.[260] The narrator's direct addresses indicate their status as such to the audience and guide its response.

Nevertheless, these addresses do not work by having the explicit emotion of the narrator guide that of the audience.[261] Homeric apostrophe to characters is in fact remarkably free of emotional content. This is clear in the case of the Eumaeus addresses, but even at the emotional climax of *Il.* 16.812–13 (ὅς τοι πρῶτος ἐφῆκε βέλος, Πατρόκλεες ἱππεῦ, | οὐδὲ δάμασσ', 'who then first let go his spear but did not bring you down, o rider Patroclus') the apostrophe does not lay bare the narrator's feelings, as Richardson emphasises.[262] It is nothing like the Virgilian narrator's emotional address to Nisus and Euryalus (*Aen.* 9.446–9). The emotion of the audience created by Homeric apostrophes operates because they are transgressive.[263] Richardson explains the operation of the apostrophes in terms of Genettian narrative levels – narrator and audience are on one level (both 'extradiegetic'),[264] while the characters are on another ('intradiegetic').[265] The address of a character by the narrator enables the audience to cross to the narrative level of the characters – this engages the audience's sympathy by bringing them closer to the characters.[266]

The *Homeric Hymns* have, in general, similarly self-effacing narrators,[267] but there are some differences in the expression of emotion and judgement. Their status as hymns brings with it certain changes – a hymn (of course) characterises its narrator as pious enough to hymn a particular god, whom the narrator invokes and prays to for prosperity or success. To this end gods can be described as σεμνοί ('sacred', e.g. Demeter *h.Cer.* 2.1). But even beyond this 'generic' piety the narrators of the *Homeric Hymns* react emotionally more often than those of the Homeric epics. The fairly rigid

[259] *Od.* 14.55, 14.165, 14.360, 14.442, 14.507, 15.325, 16.60, 16.135, 16.464, 17.272, 17.311, 17.380, 17.512, 17.579, 22.194.

[260] Cf. Parry 1972: 10–21: Patroclus μείλιχον αἰεί ('always gentle') according to Briseis, *Il.* 19.300; Menelaus' kindliness at *Il.* 6.52ff.; Eumaeus' hospitality and loyalty clear from his treatment of Odysseus in *Od.* 14.

[261] See Block 1982: 8–9 for a different view.

[262] See Richardson 1990: 171–2.

[263] Cf. Henry 1905: 8, who notes it is 'not obviously natural' to address dead heroes as though present.

[264] On which see Genette 1980: 260.

[265] On which see Genette 1980: 228–9. See in general Richardson 1990: 173–4.

[266] The apostrophes have other effects, of course – cf. Frontisi-Ducroux 1986: 17–27 for the closeness of Homeric narratorial apostrophe to Muse invocations.

[267] Cf. Nünlist 2004b: 36 and pp. 46–8 above on the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. I take into account here only the longer and earlier *Homeric Hymns*: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 19.

distinction between the vocabularies of the Homeric narrator and characters is less pronounced.[268] In Homer we find αἰνός ('dire') and its cognates predominantly in speech,[269] as in the *Homeric Hymns*, but the three examples in narrative all occur in *h.Cer.* (vv. 90, 254, 305), giving the hymn a more emotional colouring. Of the longer *Homeric Hymns h.Cer.* is the only one to use the words αἰδώς ('sense of respect'),[270] and σέβας ('reverence'),[271] both significantly in the mouth of the narrator at *h.Cer.* 190.[272] Given the relatively small amount of examples of these words, more significant is the distribution of κακός in the *Homeric Hymns* (fifteen examples omitting *h.Hom.* 16.4). This drops, when compared to Homer, from a ratio of 5:1 in favour of speech to just 1½:1. Μάλα ('very') is used mainly by characters in Homer,[273] but is four times more common by the narrator in *h.Ap.* (fifteen examples), twice as common in *h.Cer.* (six examples), equally divided between speech and narrative in *h.Ven.* (four examples), and exclusively in speech in *h.Merc.* (nine examples), giving a roughly equal overall distribution. There can also be striking reversals as compared to Homeric distribution – πῆμα ('woe'), of which in Homer there are forty-five examples in speech against two by the narrator, appears exclusively in the mouth of the primary narrator in the *Homeric Hymns* (all in *h.Ap.*, of the monsters Typhaon and the Pythian serpent).

Nevertheless, it is clear that the distinctions have not been discarded altogether: in the *Homeric Hymns* the affective ἦ ('surely'), which is almost always a speech-word in Homer,[274] appears only in the speeches of characters in the *Homeric Hymns* (eleven examples), χόλος ('anger'), which we find mainly in speech in Homer,[275] appears four times out of five in characters' speeches, νηλής ('pitiless'), mainly a speech-word in Homer,[276] appears exclusively in speech (twice, *h.Merc.* 385, *h.Ven.* 245).

In some respects the narrators of the *Homeric Hymns* are less prepared to react to their narratives than Homer – we find no examples of exclamations with σχέτλιος or even νήπιος. Both words are confined to speech, with the exception of νήπιον at *h.Merc.* 152 (not in an exclamation). *Gnomai* are also rare (exceptions at *h.Cer.* 111, 480ff., 486ff.), and the closest a narrator comes to 'moralising' are the comment ψευδόμενοι ('liars') at *h.Bacch.* 6

[268] See Krarup 1948: 16. [269] See Hunter 1993a: 110.
[270] We find this predominantly in speech in Homer, cf. Krarup 1948: 14–15.
[271] Exclusively in speech in Homer, cf. Griffin 1986: 40.
[272] Σέβας does not appear elsewhere in the major hymns, αἰδώς only appears once more, in speech, at *h.Cer.* 214.
[273] Cf. Griffin 1986: 45. [274] Cf. Griffin 1986: 45. [275] Cf. Griffin 1986: 43.
[276] Excluding the formulaic νηλέϊ χαλκῷ ('with pitiless bronze') and νηλεὲς ἦμαρ ('pitiless day') – cf. Griffin 1986: 40.

(of the false accounts of Zeus' birth), and the statement τοὺς δ' ἦγε κακὸς μόρος ('an evil fate led them') at *h.Hom.* 7.8, on the unfortunate kidnappers of Dionysus.[277]

Even the limited use of emotional vocabulary and Homeric speech-words in the *Homeric Hymns*, let alone the sharp distinction between narratorial and character vocabularies in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, is obviously different from the much more common use of devices of emotion and judgement in Archaic *iambos*, elegy and lyric. Epic (including the *Homeric Hymns*) is again clearly distinct in terms of the visibility of its narrators and their wider characteristics from other Archaic poetry. Narratorial *gnomai*, for example, which are rare in Homer, are ubiquitous in Theognis, and common in Pindar, Solon and Semonides. Differences in genre are again important to these differences in the narratorial expression of emotion between epic and lyric, elegy and *iambos*. The martial elegies of Tyrtaeus and Callinus, for example, exhort and encourage young men to battle, and promote unity and confidence in the citizenry. Hence the narrator is more emotionally engaged than in Homer. There are regularly comments on what is τιμῆεν . . . καὶ ἀγλαόν ('esteemed and splendid', Callinus fr. 1.6 W.), καλόν ('fine', Tyrtaeus fr. 10.1) or ἥδ' ἀρετή ('this is excellence', Tyrtaeus fr. 12.13 W.), as well as what is αἰσχρόν ('shameful', frr. 10.26, 11.19 W.). These evaluative words reveal that the narrator in these elegies regularly employs what are speech-words in Homer.[278] Although it makes little sense to compare the narrator- and character-vocabularies in genres where there is comparatively little speech, the use of these words shows that these narrators more commonly express their judgement, and do so more emotionally, than is the case in Archaic epic.[279] Their emotional involvement in the martial exhortations they give is thus marked, as it is by their regular address of νέοι ('young men', e.g. Callinus fr. 1.1ff., Tyrtaeus frr. 10.15ff., 11.10ff. W.). This is akin to the apostrophe of

[277] Cf. Stoddard 2004: 120–5, who examines the use of Homeric speech-words by the narrator of the *Theogony* and finds that the narrator 'speaks as if he were a Homeric character' (121), suggesting that this narratorial use of emotional vocabulary is partly related to the hymnic affinities of the *Theogony*, and that there is greater use of emotional language and Homeric speech-words by the narrator in the *Homeric Hymns*, as compared to Homer (124). But in fact Hesiod seems to go much further in this direction than the *Homeric Hymns*. See Nünlist 2004b: 37–42 for the generally covert nature of the narrators of the *Homeric Hymns*.

[278] Cf. also in Tyrtaeus οὐλομένη, 'baneful', fr. 7.2 W.; κακότης, 'wickedness', fr. 10.10 W., mainly speech-words in Homer – cf. Hunter 1993a: 110, Krarup 1948: 13.

[279] Cf. also the greater use of Homeric speech-words in Hesiod in the *Theogony* (see Stoddard 2004: 120–5, Nünlist 2004a: 29 and n. 277 above), and the 'moralising' advice to Perses in the *Works and Days* (on which see p. 96 below).

characters in Homer, given that the elegies were very probably performed at symposia, rather than to a gathering of citizens before a battle.[280]

We could reproduce the un-Homeric use of affective vocabulary by the narrator for most non-epic Archaic poets, to a greater or lesser degree.[281] More important, however, is the coordination of this and other devices to create a 'moralising' persona (or a parody of such a persona) in various non-epic Archaic poets. This is apparent in the paraenetic situation developed in several poets, such as Theognis, who recommends and suggests against various forms of action and behaviour to his addressee, and by extension the audience, e.g. μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· πάντων μέσ' ἄριστα ('seek nothing too much: the middle is best in all things') to Cyrnus (v. 335). Related to this sort of advising of an addressee (which we also find, e.g., in some elegiac fragments attributed to Archilochus, such as fr. 15 W. to Glaucus on the friendship of an ally) is Solon's persona as a political adviser. Here the political situation can be presented in emotional language, e.g. in fr. 4 W. the affective words ἄδικος ('unjust', v. 7), ὕβριος ('arrogance', v. 8), ἀδίκοις ('unjust', v. 11), κακὴν . . . δουλοσύνην ('evil slavery', v. 18), κακά (vv. 23, 31), κακόν (v. 26). These words characterise the danger which Athens faces, leading up to a *gnome* at fr. 4.31ff. W. on Δυσνομίη ('Lawlessness') and Εὐνομίη ('Good Order') which emphasises the benefits of the latter and encourages its adoption by the citizenry.

We find a different sort of moraliser in iambic fragments where the primary narrator is reproaching his target:

> πάτερ Λυκάμβα, ποῖον ἐφράσω τόδε;
> τίς σὰς παρήειρε φρένας
> ἧς τὸ πρὶν ἠρήρησθα; νῦν δὲ δὴ πολὺς
> ἀστοῖσι φαίνεαι γέλως.
>
> Father Lycambes, what do you mean by this?
> Who unhinged your mind, which before was healthy? Now you're
> the great laughing stock of the town. (Archil. fr. 172 W.)

It seems that Lycambes has wronged the narrator (ὅρκον δ' ἐνοσφίσθης μέγαν | ἅλας τε καὶ τράπεζαν, 'you went back on your great oath by salt and table', fr. 173 W.), probably in connection with marriage to his daughter.[282] This situation, very probably reproduced in Hipponax with

[280] Cf. Bowie 1986: 15–18.

[281] E.g. in Archilochus the primary narrator commonly uses cognates of κακός (at frr. 5.4, 11.1, 13.5, 20, 126.2 (twice), 128.6, 130.1, 130.4, 133.4, 195 W.) – their absence in the speech of characters is primarily related to the monologic character of the genre.

[282] Cf. Hor. *Epod*. 6.11–14.

reference to Bupalus,[283] of a narrator who is wronged and then upbraids his target(s), portrays the narrator as morally superior to them, at least. In Hipponax we find several fragments recommending that someone be treated as a φαρμακός ('scapegoat').[284] The moral stance of the primary narrator is undercut somewhat by the depiction in many iambic poems of the narrator's sexual and scatological misadventures, which arouses humour at his expense (and that of his targets). Nevertheless, the self-characterisation of iambic narrators as moralisers remains, even if this is meant as parody, and several fragments preserve their reproaches and moral commentary (e.g. Hipponax fr. 26 W. on the impoverishment of one man through his extravagance).

Both the giving of advice and the self-characterisation of the narrator as wronged are prominent elements of the moralising persona of Hesiod in the *Works and Days*. Perses, brother of the primary narrator, has carried off the greater share of their inheritance (*Op.* 37–8), with the support of the βασιλῆες or 'lords' (οἳ τήνδε δίκην ἐθέλουσι δικάσσαι, 'who willingly make this judgement',[285] v. 39) whom he derogatorily describes as δωροφάγοι ('gift-eating', v. 39) and νήπιοι ('fools', v. 40). At *Op.* 248ff. the narrator warns these βασιλῆες to pay attention to Zeus' punishment of those who practise σχέτλια ἔργα ('wretched deeds', *Op.* 238).[286] The upbraiding of both the βασιλῆες and Perses characterises the narrator as morally superior to them, as does his advising of Perses, whom he instructs καί νυ Δίκης ἐπάκουε ('listen now to Justice', v. 275) – the narrator is the mouthpiece of Right. A further mark of the narrator's moral separation from the rest of mankind comes in his reaction to his own narrative at *Op.* 174–6, where he wishes he had not been born in the fifth generation:

> μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' ὤφελλον ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῖναι
> ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ πρόσθε θανεῖν ἢ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι.
> νῦν γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον·
>
> I wish then I were no longer one of the fifth-born men,
> but had died before or been born later,
> because this generation is truly made of iron.

The ability to comment upon humanity as a whole demonstrates that the Hesiodic narrator is a moraliser, while also justifying the advice the narrator gives to addressee and audience.

[283] Cf. Plin. *HN* 36.4.12. [284] Frr. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 W. [285] Cf. West 1978: 152.
[286] Note here too the use of the Homeric speech-word σχέτλιος.

The reaction to narrative we find in Hesiod is most prominent in Archaic poetry as a marked feature of the principal narratorial persona in Pindar's epinicians. On several occasions the narrator evaluates the propriety or ethical content of a myth,[287] which contributes to an impression of the narrator across the epinicians as pious and respectful of the gods. Most famously, of course, in *Olympian* 1 the Pindaric narrator sets himself against previous versions of the story of Pelops' ivory shoulder and the reason for his father's punishment. So emotional is the narrator about this variation from tradition that he declares his intention to Pelops himself, a rare example of a Pindaric address to a non-divine character in a narrative:[288]

> υἱὲ Ταντάλου, σὲ δ' ἀντία προτέρων φθέγξομαι
>
> Son of Tantalus, I shall say of you against earlier poets. (*O.* 1.36)

The reason for Pindar's rejection of the tale of the dismemberment and eating of Pelops is also phrased in emphatic language:

> ἐμοὶ δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων τιν' εἰπεῖν· ἀφίσταμαι·
> ἀκέρδεια λέλογχεν θαμινὰ κακαγόρους.
>
> It is impossible for me to call one of the blessed gods a glutton: I stand aside.
> Lack of profit often befalls slanderers. (*O.* 1.52–3)

The traditional version is to call Demeter a γαστρίμαργος, 'glutton', and so be a κακάγορος or 'slanderer'. Such language portrays previous poets as blasphemers, and the narrator makes it clear that it is impossible (ἄπορα, ἀφίσταμαι) for him to do the same. We find a similarly powerful description of the narrator's rejection of a myth, as Carey points out,[289] at *O.* 9.35ff., where the myth of Heracles fighting the gods is equated to the vilification of the gods (λοιδορῆσαι, 'to slander', *O.* 9.37), which amounts to ἐχθρὰ σοφία, 'hateful wisdom' or 'hateful poetry' (*O.* 9.38). Elsewhere Pindar's narrator ostentatiously avoids improper narrative at *O.* 13.91 (διασωπάσομαι οἱ μόρον ἐγώ, 'I shall remain silent about his fate', about Bellerophon) and *N.* 5.14ff., where he will not tell of a deed ἐν δίκᾳ . . . μὴ κεκινδυνευμένον ('unjustly . . . attempted', v. 14, the murder of Phocus).

[287] See Carey 1995: 97–8.

[288] The only parallels are *P.* 4.175 (Periclymenus), *N.* 7.86 (Heracles), *I.* 1.55 (Amphitryon), *I.* 8.21–3 (the nymph Aegina). See on the unusual (and unusually long) apostrophe to Pelops Athanassaki 2004: 328.

[289] Carey 1995: 98.

Pindaric judgements of narratives are usually made in the first person (ἀφίσταμαι, 'I stand aside', *O.* 1.52; μοι, 'from me', *O.* 9.35; διασωπάσομαι, 'I shall keep silent', *O.* 13.91; αἰδέομαι, στάσομαι, 'I am ashamed', 'I shall halt', *N.* 5.14, 16) and the prominence of this moral first person in Pindar, which portrays the evaluation of the myth as the personal reaction of the narrator, is unusual in epinician and choral lyric.[290] Carey suggests that Pindar may be drawing on personal lyric, rather than, e.g., the epinicians of Simonides for this emphatic personal response to a myth. In Alcaeus fr. 298 V., for example, the narrator proclaims that it would have been much better (πόλυ βέλτερον, v. 4) for the Greeks to have killed Locrian Ajax, using this as a parallel for the homicidal political action which should be taken on Lesbos (vv. 1–3). Other potential Archaic models for the strength of feeling in the Pindaric judgements suggest themselves. In Simonides *PMG* 542 the narrator rejects the saying of Pittacus as inaccurate (οὐδέ μοι ἐμμελέως τὸ Πιττάκειον | νέμεται, 'Pittacus' adage does not seem right to me', vv. 11–12), and goes on to declare that he will not find fault with someone who is not bad (οὐδὲ μή μιν ἐγὼ | μωμήσομαι, vv. 36–7), while in *PMG* 581 the opinion of Cleobulus is even more harshly treated (μωροῦ | φωτὸς ἅδε βουλά, 'this is the judgement of a foolish man', vv. 6–7).[291] While these are not reactions to myths, the fragments do respond to previous thinkers, and strength of feeling (in *PMG* 581) and the personal terms in which *PMG* 542 is expressed are similar to what we have seen in Pindar. Xenophanes, too, forcefully expresses himself in the first person on the narrator being more deserving than an athletic victor (οὐκ ἐὼν ἄξιος ὥσπερ ἐγώ· ῥώμης γὰρ ἀμείνων | ἀνδρῶν ἠδ' ἵππων ἡμετέρη σοφίη, 'he is not as worthy as I am: better than men's or horses' strength is my skill', fr. 2.11–12 D.–K.), while his fragments about the portrayal of the gods suggest he might have treated such mythic depictions emotionally in the complete text (e.g. θεῶν ἀθεμίστια ἔργα | κλέπτειν μοιχεύειν τε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεύειν, 'the unlawful deeds of the gods – stealing, adultery, deceiving each other', fr. 12.1–2 D.–K.).

In Pindar's epinicians the moral evaluation of myths in the first person, alongside the widespread use of the first person in *gnomai* (e.g. *O.* 3.43–5, *P.* 3.105–11),[292] is clearly part of an attempt to establish the narrator's sincerity in the context of praise, and to portray poetry as a moral activity

[290] Cf. Carey 1995: 98.

[291] The genre of the two Simonidean fragments is uncertain – they are not from epinicians, at least. *PMG* 542 may be from an encomium (Σιμωνίδης πρὸς Σκόπαν, 'Simonides to Scopas', Pl. *Prt.* 339a7).

[292] See Carey 1999: 19.

in which the narrator excels as a moral authority.[293] Hence both the narrator's praise and his moral pronouncements receive extra validity. This mechanism is particularly reminiscent, as Carey points out, of the situation in the *Works and Days*.[294]

Bacchylides' epinicians present us with a strikingly different approach to the persona of the narrator in general and of the use of emotion and evaluation in particular. Since Pindaric and Bacchylidean epinicians are of the same genre and date, generic and historical explanations are insufficient to account for the differences between them. Rather we must appeal to the different aesthetic (i.e. artistic rather than literary-critical) aims of the poets. In Bacchylides there is far less use of the first person, which is generally confined to its usual role in choral lyric as a transitional device found at the beginning and end of poems (in contrast to the more widespread Pindaric first persons).[295] Correspondingly, expressions of the bond of *xenia* between narrator and *laudandus* in Bacchylides are far less often in the first person.[296] This is also true of *gnomai*,[297] which Bacchylides more often places in the mouths of his characters, as when Meleager tells Heracles that 'it is hard for those on the earth to turn aside the will of the gods' (B. 5.94–6).[298] More strikingly still, narratorial reaction to myths or victories in Bacchylides takes a very different form. Rather than being expressed in first-person statements emphasising the moral authority of the narrator (and hence his evaluation of the myth and praise of the victor), we find the use of exclamations and emotional language to portray the sympathy of the narrator and the often pathetic nature of the myth.

In B. 9 the narrator reacts to Archemorus' death as an omen of the bloody result of the Seven's expedition against Thebes by declaring ὦ μοῖρα πολυκρατές ('o strong fate', v. 15), while he exclaims ἆ τρισευδαίμ[ων ἀνήρ ('o thrice-happy man', B. 3.10) of Hieron when describing his Olympic chariot-victory.[299] Hutchinson thinks that such

[293] Cf. Carey 1995: 96–7, Scodel 2001: 133–5.

[294] See Carey 1995: 97.

[295] Cf. Carey 1995: 92, 1999: 18.

[296] Cf. Carey 1995: 95, though it is important to note that Bacchylides still stresses the narrator's connection to the *laudandus* – see Carey 1999: 19 with n. 9.

[297] See Carey 1999: 19 and 24, who points that, though rarer than in Pindar, *gnomai* in the mouth of the narrator are not unknown in Bacchylides, e.g. B. 3.49–52, though the emphasis on the first person is usually not so great as in Pindar. Cf. in general on this topic Márquez Guerrero 1992.

[298] Cf. also Heracles' own *gnome* later at B. 5.160–2: 'for mortals not to be born is best, not to look on the light of the sun'.

[299] Even here, however, where the emotional reaction of the narrator seems to be marked for us, there is some carefully controlled Bacchylidean ambiguity. As Carey 1999: 20 notes, we have just been told θρόησε δὲ λ[αὸς ('the crowd shouted', B. 3.9) in the line before, of the reaction to Hieron's victory. But it is impossible for an audience of a performance of B. 3 to be certain whether the words of

(pseudo-)spontaneous reactions are more typical of elegy and *iambos* than lyric, citing Hipponax fr. 117.6 W. (ᾆ μάκαρ, 'ah blessed').[300] We might also add ᾆ τάλας ἀνήρ ('ah wretched man', Semonides fr. 7.76 W.). There is a further Bacchylidean narratorial exclamation in B. 16: ᾆ δύσμορος, ᾆ τάλ[αι]ν' ('ah miserable one, ah wretched one', v. 30), of Deianeira's fatal plan to regain Heracles' affection. Although this exclamation does not come from an epinician, it illustrates the continuity of style from Bacchylides' epinicians to the dithyrambs and the corresponding consistency of the primary narrator in both sets of poems. The most remarkable Bacchylidean exclamation is perhaps that at B. 17.119, where the narrator uses the word φεῦ (Campbell translates this as 'whew'),[301] a word most natural in the speech of characters in drama and not found in earlier lyric or in Pindaric epinicians,[302] to express his feeling at Minos' reaction to Theseus' return. This striking transfer to the mouth of the primary narrator of a dithyramb demonstrates the different Bacchylidean narratorial persona – one who expresses emotion in order to elicit a similar reaction in the audience, in contrast to the ostentatious moral evaluations of Pindar.

But Bacchylides manipulates the emotional tone of his poems and narratives in other ways too, which again differ from the usual Pindaric strategies, but which also form important forerunners to certain effects in Hellenistic narrative.[303] Bacchylides chooses to present myths in such a way as to stress their pathetic elements and the vulnerability or weakness of his characters.[304] We can see this in the selection of the myths themselves, such as the poignant meeting of Heracles and Meleager in B. 5 (or Croesus on his pyre in B. 3), and also in their particular handling, where Bacchylides creates his distinctive emotional colouring through the manipulation of details such as Heracles' unprompted question about Meleager's sister, Deianeira,[305] the careful variation in the use of epithets from elaboration to

vv. 10–12, including the exclamation about Hieron, are spoken by the crowd or the narrator. Blass (*app. crit.* Maehler 1982–97: I.126) suggested there may be a narratorial exclamation at B. 13.157 – ᾆ δύσφ]ρονες ('ah foolish men') of the Trojans' misplaced confidence during the absence of Achilles.

[300] See Hutchinson 2001: 333. [301] Campbell 1982–93: IV.225.

[302] See Maehler 1982–97: II.206, Hutchinson 2001: 333.

[303] See, in addition to the production of emotion sketched out here, Lefkowitz 1969: 64–82 on the careful imitation of and variation from the language and scenes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which also prefigure some of the use of earlier texts in the Hellenistic poets.

[304] Cf. Gentili 1988: 151, Carey 1999: 21.

[305] Carey 1999: 21 with n. 19 compares the Pindaric treatment of this same myth, where Meleager prompts Heracles to rescue his sister, which he then describes (fr. 249a), producing a very different effect from B. 5.

austerity,[306] and an overall structure to the ode which moves from human confidence and independence, through to the helplessness stressed by the meeting of Meleager and Heracles, to a more balanced understanding of the significance of Hieron's victory, and the role of the gods, at the end of the ode.[307] The picture of lack of human control in the face of the gods, expressed in Meleager's *gnome* at B. 5. 94–6, and the description of the accidental killing of his uncles, forms an important forerunner to the kind of effect produced in poems such as Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena* and *Hymn to Demeter*, where the actions of the gods seem unrelated to human understanding of culpability or responsibility,[308] which is particularly problematic in the context of hymns to the gods. In B. 5 the uncles are killed because of the blindness of battle:

ἔνθ' ἐγὼ πολλοῖς σὺν ἄλλοις
  Ἴφικλον κατέκτανον
ἐσθλόν τ' Ἀφάρητα, θοοὺς μάτρωας· οὐ γὰρ
  καρτερόθυμος Ἄρης
κρίνει φίλον ἐν πολέμωι,
  τυφλὰ δ' ἐκ χειρῶν βέλη
ψυχαῖς ἔπι δυσμενέων φοι -
  τᾶι θάνατόν τε φέρει
τοῖσιν ἂν δαίμων θέλῃι

There, along with many others, Iphiclus I killed and noble Aphares,
my mother's quick brothers, because strong-hearted Ares does not
mark out friends in battle, and blindly from our hands fly our weapons
against our enemies' lives, bringing death to whom the god wishes.

(vv. 127–35)

Here the chance nature of the killing, which leads to Meleager's own death, and the seeming capriciousness of the δαίμων who appears to pick people to die, emphasise not only a lack of human control, but also the

[306] See Segal 1976: 115–21, who notes, for example, the contrast between the full description of Meleager's death, rich in epithets (B. 5.136ff.), with the more indistinct picture of Hades (e.g. at B. 5.56ff.). Cf. also Burnett 1985: 143 on the contrast in B. 5 between Meleager's death and the vague, unspecific account of his killing of his uncles.

[307] Cf. Goldhill 1983, who traces a move from the opening confidence of the address to Hieron (on which cf. also Lefkowitz 1969: 49–52) and its stress on human power and achievement, through the lack of control Meleager's past and Heracles' future deaths imply, to the mention of the various gods from whom Hieron's victory stemmed (B. 5.178ff.), which forms something of middle way between the confident opening and the pessimistic myth – human achievement through the will of the gods.

[308] See pp. 165–70, 177–8 below for the problematic behaviour of Athena and Artemis to mortals who see them 'unwillingly' (Call. *H.* 5.78, 113), and the disturbing change on the part of the δαίμων of the Triopidae at *H.* 6.31–2.

seeming irrationality of the gods, and their distance from human fate and emotion.[309]

Much too of the emotional power of B. 5 in particular, but also other Bacchylidean poems, is drawn from the dramatic irony which the gap between the audience's knowledge of what will happen to the characters and the characters' ignorance creates.[310] Heracles, of course, unlike the audience, has no idea of the consequences of his desire to make a sister of Meleager his wife, nor does Croesus of his rescue in B. 3, nor the Trojans of their defeat in B. 13.[311] Often Bacchylides does not mention the outcome of the story, though he does exploit the audience's knowledge. Bacchylides foreshadows these future events outside the narrative by subtle means, which in some ways anticipate the exploitation of events outside the narrative in Hellenistic poetry, especially the *Argonautica*'s anticipation of Medea's abandonment and the death of Medea's children at her hands.[312] To take B. 5 again as an example, we have no explicit reference to the future death of Heracles, but the mention of Deianeira, whom the narrator describes as νῆϊν ἔτι χρυσέας | Κύπριδος θελξιμβρότου ('inexperienced still in the ways of golden Cypris the mortal-charmer', vv. 174–5), prompts the audience to think of a time when Deianeira will not be so inexperienced, and will herself attempt a love-charm, with deadly results for Heracles (and a death which Meleager's own magical death at the hands of a woman in vv. 136–54 itself prefigures).[313] The fact that θελξιμβρότου ('mortal-charmer') is the very final word of the myth, which Bacchylides then breaks off with an instruction to Calliope, means that this future is very much in the minds of the audience.[314]

[309] See Lefkowitz 1969: 77–8, Goldhill 1983: 74–6.

[310] Cf. Burnett 1985: 122–3 and 141–5, Carey 1999: 26–7, Pfeijffer 1999b: 44–55 (on B. 15, 16). This effect is often compared to dramatic irony in Homer and tragedy, e.g. by Carey 1999: 26.

[311] See further Carey 1999: 26.

[312] E.g. A.R. 3.997ff. (the Ariadne parallel for Medea's abandonment), 3.688ff., 3.744ff. (Medea's killing of her children). Cf. pp. 285–6 below.

[313] Cf. Lefkowitz 1969: 85–6, Burnett 1985: 146–7.

[314] Carey 1999: 27 points out that the primary audience of a Bacchylidean ode would not know when Bacchylides would end the myth, hence whether the future events they were anticipating would be narrated or not.

CHAPTER 3

Callimachean narrators

INTRODUCTION

In Callimachus we read narratives which regularly draw attention to their status as stories and to those telling these stories.[1] This flagging of narrative status and narrator ranges from the subtle ironies and self-criticism of the *Iambi* to the intrusive scholar-poet of the *Aetia*, and the careful modifications and expansions of Archaic hymnal voices in the *Hymns*.

I mean the plural in this chapter's title to stress the great variety and subtle differentiation of voice in Callimachus, within a single poem, within a collection such as the *Hymns*, and between different works. One obstacle to the perception of this variety is the homogeneity as 'scholarly', obscure, difficult which critics often assume in Callimachean poetry (and Hellenistic poetry more generally). Erudition or scholarship is an important aspect of Hellenistic narratorial voices,[2] but a central reason for a simple characterisation of such voices as 'scholarly' is inattention to the relationship between author and narrator, and the nature of narratorial 'projections' of the author. This is particularly the case with Callimachus.

Callimachus is the most obvious example of the Alexandrian scholar-poet, the compiler of the *Pinakes*, and writer of works such as the Ἐθνικαὶ ὀνομασίαι (*Local Names*). He must, it is thought, have been bookish, thorough, a 'scholar'.[3] But simply to regard the scholarship of a narrator or a text as an expression or display of erudition of the author is to ignore the subtle uses to which Callimachus (and indeed Hellenistic poets in general) can put scholarship: to satirise pedantry (e.g. in *Iamb*. 6),[4] to undercut the narrator's authority (e.g. in *H*. 1.60ff.),[5] to jar with the characterisation of the narrator otherwise developed (e.g. in *H*. 6.63).[6]

[1] See Harder 1992: 390, 2004: 63–72. [2] See Goldhill 1991a: 327–8.
[3] See now on Callimachus' scholarly prose Krevans 2004. [4] See Kerkhecker 1999: 171.
[5] See pp. 120–2 below. [6] See p. 106 below.

The concept of quasi-biography is extremely helpful here. The primary narrator in Callimachus is generally a projection of the historical Callimachus,[7] or rather exploits aspects of the biographical Callimachus to construct a persona. This is not to speak of Callimachus as straightforwardly the speaker in his works.[8] The degree of connection of narrator to author is variable: strong in *Aetia* 1–2 and the *Iambi*, where it is legitimate to describe the speaker as 'Callimachus',[9] but less so in the *Hymns*,[10] and hardly at all in the *Hecale*. However, even where 'Callimachus' is the speaker, we often find exploitation of the gap between narrator and author. Hence Kerkhecker assigns the complicated failure and inconsistency of the fable in *Iamb*. 2 not to Callimachus, the author, 'but to his speaker', i.e. 'Callimachus'.[11]

Scholarship is but one aspect of the biographical Callimachus which he can play up in the construction of a persona. It is not an indicator that we are hearing the 'authentic' voice of Callimachus.[12] Its presence, in different forms, in the *Hymns*, *Iambi*, *Hecale* etc. is one reason for the problematic extension of the so-called principles of the *Aetia* prologue to form a thoroughgoing Callimachean poetic manifesto covering all types of poetry. Scholarship in Callimachus, on this view, critics take to be an expression of the poetic credo of the scholar-poet of the *Aetia*. But, as we shall see, even in the *Aetia* there are subtle modulations of voice and scholarship, and the persona there is not a flawless portrayal of the historical Callimachus. The voices of Callimachus are many more than merely that of the learned professor.[13]

The Callimachean narrators it is easiest to form a complete picture of are those of the *Hymns*, because of the length of the poems and their preservation in the manuscript tradition. Hence a large proportion of this chapter concentrates on them. By contrast, the other group of wholly extant Callimachean poems, the *Epigrams*, does not receive a dedicated treatment.[14] This is because of their relationship to Archaic poetry and the character of

[7] Not always – Hipponax, e.g., speaks in *Iamb*. 1, while in *Aetia* 3–4 there is a range of different primary narrators, including a lock of Berenice's hair, on which see pp. 198–9 below.
[8] So Hutchinson 1988: 67–8 on *H*. 2, criticised by Harder 1992: 389 n. 21.
[9] So Kerkhecker 1999: 49, 60–3 and *passim* on the *Iambi*.
[10] See Cameron 1995: 439, though he exaggerates the lack of connection to the historical author in the *Hymns*. Cf. p. 106 below.
[11] Kerkhecker 1999: 58.
[12] See D'Alessio 1996: I.5–23 for the constantly shifting points of view from which stories are told in Callimachus and the lack of a core, central voice.
[13] Cf. the important comments on scholarship in Callimachus in Hutchinson 1988: 26–32.
[14] See in general on Hellenistic epigrams and their models/forerunners Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 283–349.

their narrators. Often the narrators are minimally developed (e.g. *Epigr*. 37, 38, 39, 57 Pf.), so that they are among the closest Hellenistic poems to 'nonnarrated' works. Elsewhere, a study of Callimachus' epigrammatic narrators would consist largely of the identification of the speaker, often only on the grounds of the 'autobiographical assumption' (e.g. *Epigr*. 20 Pf.).[15] I shall, however, discuss those epigrams which are richer in quasi-biography (e.g. poverty in *Epigr*. 32, 46 Pf., poetological language in *Epigr*. 27 Pf.).

It is more difficult, of course, to study the narrators of Callimachus' now fragmentary works than the *Hymns*. Nevertheless, it is important to attempt to gauge the differences in Callimachus' use of primary narrators and how he adapts his narrative models in these works, to form a comprehensive picture of the relationship of Callimachus to Archaic poetry. Nowhere is this clearer than in the *Iambi*, which obviously develops and adapts Archaic *iambos* and its speakers.

Accordingly, I concentrate in this chapter on the *Aetia* and *Iambi* alongside the *Hymns*, as providing the most promising material for a study of primary narrators, for example in the use of quasi-biography and play with the relationship of narrator to author. I also make reference, where relevant, to the other fragmentary works of Callimachus, especially the *Hecale*, though space prevents a detailed examination of its narrator.

THE *HYMNS*

Book, voice and performance

The *Hymns* of Callimachus as we have them have a clear unity, which many believe (I think rightly) is the poet's creation.[16] The sequence of the *Hymns* is the same in both MSS and papyri, as Hopkinson notes, and within the collection there are careful patterns of continuation, opposition, resemblance and difference.[17] We should add patterns, juxtaposition and similarity in the narrators through the collection to the links structuring the book.[18]

[15] Though several of Callimachus' *Epigrams* do show complexity and ambiguity in indicating the identity of the speaker, e.g. *Epigr*. 58 Pf., and clearly develop Archaic models in doing so. Cf. Tueller 2004, and also Meyer 1993 on the complexities in the presentation of the reader in Callimachean epigrams.

[16] See, e.g., Pfeiffer 1949–53: II.liii, Hopkinson 1984a: 13, Harder 1992: 385, Haslam 1993: 115, Cameron 1995: 255, 438–9. Cf. also Hunter–Fuhrer 2002: 145, though note the discussion appended to the article, which is more sceptical about the authorial origins of the poetry book of *Hymns*. See in general on ancient poetry books Van Sickle 1980, Gutzwiller 1998: 5–14.

[17] See Hopkinson 1984a: 13–17, Harder 1992: 394, Haslam 1993: 115.

[18] See Depew 2004 for further patterns in the collection of *Hymns* deriving from the family of the Olympian gods and the representation through the collection of male and female Ptolemies.

A poem with an obliquely indicated setting and a voice intermittently reminiscent of a scholar (*H.* 1) is followed by one with an explicitly mimetic form, which seems (in part at least) spoken by Callimachus the Cyrenean (*H.* 2). This gives way to an in some ways more conventional, but also garrulous bard (or *aoidos*) in *H.* 3, who cannot end the hymn, then in *H.* 4 a narrator who addresses himself (in Pindaric fashion) in a series of expanded priamels (as if the hymn never actually begins). Two shorter mimetic hymns follow, one where the narrator is present at a largely female festival (*H.* 5), another where the narrator appears to be female (*H.* 6).

Mood, tone and voice shift between and within poems – 'the texts just will not stay still, not be pinned down'.[19] The celebrant at an Apollo festival becomes Callimachus at the Carneia in Cyrene in *H.* 2, the numinous Demeter terrifying Erysichthon and his sacrilegious companions gives way to the comedy of social manners and Erysichthon's embarrassed parents, a naïve narrator quotes a goddess who sounds like the scholarly Callimachus of the *Aetia* and alludes to a disputed passage of Homer.[20] 'In the *Hymns* the surface meaning is always running up against subtextual countercurrents.'[21]

The narrators in the *Hymns* are not so strongly characterised as the scholarly narrator of *Aetia* 1–2, nor so closely associated with the historical Callimachus. This is clearest in *H.* 6, where all the first-person statements are closely connected to the circumstances of the Demeter ritual (e.g. πτύωμες, 'we spit', v. 6; πατεῦμες, 'we walk', v. 124), which appears to have been reserved for women,[22] so that the narrator seems female.[23] Nevertheless, I think, there is more play with the historical Callimachus in the *Hymns*, though in different forms and to different degrees from the *Aetia*, than some scholars, such as Cameron, allow.[24] One means for Callimachus to achieve this is the use of scholarship.

Callimachus' recent commentators are determined in their view that the *Hymns* were not publicly performed, but are 'literary' texts designed for consumption within the Museum.[25] They follow Wilamowitz and Herter,[26] and the demonstration of Legrand that the mimetic hymns,[27] at least, could not have been meant to be simultaneous with the rituals they

[19] Haslam 1993: 113.
[20] We find κύον, κύον ('you dog, you dog') at *H.* 6.63 and fr. 75.4 Pf., while *H.* 6.114–15 allude to *Il.* 22.487ff., Astyanax as a beggar, rejected by Aristarchus, see Σ A (Aristonicus) ad loc.
[21] Haslam 1993: 112. [22] Cf. *H.* 6.1, 129–30 and pp. 170–1 below. [23] Cf. Bing 1995a: 34–7.
[24] See Cameron 1995: 439, who suggests that the 'first person in the hymns normally refers to the poet only insofar as he counts himself one of the worshippers addressing the god in question'.
[25] See, e.g., Williams 1978: 2–3, Bornmann 1968: xii–xiii, Mineur 1984: 10, Bulloch 1985a: 4–5, 8, 12, Hopkinson 1984a: 37, Hutchinson 1988: 63.
[26] Wilamowitz 1924: I.182, Herter 1931: 434. [27] See Legrand 1901, esp. 281–98.

purport to describe. Cameron characterises this as 'dogmatism',[28] and attempts to revive Cahen's idea that the *Hymns* may have been performed publicly at festivals, but on the fringe, outside their 'formal framework',[29] citing the parallel of Horace's *Carmen saeculare*.[30] He challenges the dogma of 'festival and library' as the only possible circumstances for poetry in the Hellenistic period, doubting that Hellenistic poetry was an exception to the tradition of Greek poetry written for performance.[31]

Williams anticipates such an appeal to a possible public performance, in the case of *H.* 2, citing A. W. Mair for the view that it would be a matter 'rather of personal curiosity than of literary interest' if we learnt that a poem had been performed at a public occasion.[32] This is both true, in a sense, and misleading, but also usefully points us to an assumption which commentators other than Williams share with Cameron, of the central importance of the original performance conditions (often privileged in criticism of Archaic poetry) to interpretation of the poem.

It is true that the first performance matters little in terms of the critical appreciation of the text – critics proceed initially from the text as they have it, and are justified in doing so because Hellenistic poetry is so obviously designed to be read. But it is misleading insofar as it suggests a complete break with poetry which we know *was* performed publicly, e.g. that of the Archaic period.[33] But this in turn is not, as Cameron would have it, primarily because Hellenistic poetry, like Archaic poetry, was performed (though this may also be true), but because Archaic poetry, like Hellenistic poetry, is obviously designed for secondary audiences.[34] Archaic poetry was designed for reperformance.

The commentators' desire to make Callimachus' *Hymns* readers' texts, or texts for private consumption, betrays a concern that public poetry, performed before a larger audience, could not look like this – too difficult, clearly designed for reading. And this in turn betrays a concern that the first, the primary, performance of a poem largely determines its form and nature – it cannot have been performed, because it is designed 'in the first place' to be read (or recited). But it should be clear, from the parallel of Pindar's epinicians, that a dense, difficult poem, designed to be fully

[28] Cameron 1995: 63. Cf also Cairns 1992: 13–16.
[29] See Cahen 1929: 281, followed by Fraser 1972: II.916 n. 289.
[30] Cameron 1995: 65 following Fraenkel 1957: 382. The Horatian parallel is also noted by Newman 1967: 350.
[31] See Cameron 1995: 64–5. [32] Williams 1978: 2–3, Mair–Mair 1955: 18–19.
[33] Cf. Cameron 1995: 64–5 on the exaggeration of the difference between Archaic and Hellenistic performance, and see Bing 2000 for criticism of Cameron's approach.
[34] See, e.g., Scodel 1996: 61 and pp. 37–42 above.

appreciated only with multiple reception, can have an original, public performance.[35]

But the possibility does not imply that they *were* performed publicly. Therefore, while Cameron is right to point out more potential performance conditions than performance before the 'urban masses' or for a tiny Court elite,[36] he is perhaps guilty of presenting public performance and reading as the only alternatives. The targets of his criticism, however, maintain recitation (i.e. performance of a kind, though 'private') as a possibility,[37] and are even prepared to sketch out more complete or more public occasions.[38] Such suggestions allow for a degree of performance, and a range of performance conditions, which may have approached what Cameron terms 'public'.[39] How many people have to be at a performance before it ceases to be private? How strict do the admittance criteria have to be? How learned does an audience member have to be to be a member of an 'elite'? Compare the 'semi-private celebration' at which a singer performs the 'Adonis' in the palace at Alexandria,[40] with an audience comprised partly of ordinary Alexandrian women (Theoc. *Idyll* 15).

One reason for Cameron's position is a desire to place *H.* 2 at the Carneia in Cyrene, with 'my king' at *H.* 2.26–7 as Magas, on the grounds that ἐμὴν πόλιν ('my city') in v. 65 refers to Cyrene, and ἡμετέροις βασιλεῦσιν ('to our kings') in v. 68 to the Battiad kings.[41] The date would then be early – *c.*270 BC. But this is itself to overlook the full range of possible occasions, public and private, for the *Hymn to Apollo*. Given the state of tension and intermittent war between Cyrene and Egypt for over twenty years from the early 270s,[42] it is perfectly plausible for a Battiad Cyrenean poet (cf. *Epigr.* 35 Pf.) living in Alexandria to be commissioned

[35] Pindar anticipates reperformance across the Greek world (e.g. *N.* 5.1–5), and also to audiences 'overlapping' with the primary audience (e.g. *N.* 4.13–16), so that audiences on Sicily, for example, would have been exposed several times to the same Pindaric ode (and indeed have heard other related odes for other local victors, e.g. the audience of *O.* 1 for Hieron of Syracuse 'overlapping' with that of *N.* 1 for Chromius of Aetna). Cf. pp. 38–40 above. I deal with the different performances and audiences in Pindar's Sicilian odes in a forthcoming book (Morrison (forthcoming)).

[36] See Cameron 1995: 56, but compare Zanker 1987: 18.

[37] E.g. 'declamation', Hopkinson 1984a: 37, 'clearly written for recitation', Bulloch 1985a: 8.

[38] E.g. Mineur 1984: 11–16 suggests *H.* 4 was a *genethliakon* for Philadelphus, performed at a Museum banquet, and Bulloch 1985a: 4 n. 2 calls Cahen's idea (1929: 281) for hymns 'en rapport direct avec la fête religieuse' likely.

[39] See Barbantani 2001: 41–4, who points out that even 'private' performances in the Ptolemaic court could have more than one level, e.g. a restricted group of poets and critics or the wider court as a whole, and that such performances might have included, among others, *philoi* from elsewhere in Greece, and hence have had a diplomatic function.

[40] See Cairns 1992: 14.

[41] See Cameron 1995: 408–9.

[42] See Hölbl 2001: 39, 45, Green 1990: 146, 148.

to write a hymn imitating the Carneia at Cyrene and implicitly claiming Cyrene, which under Magas had rebelled against Ptolemaic rule, for the Ptolemies. This opens up the possible dates for the hymn, explains the emphasis on Cyrene in it,[43] and gives added point to Callimachus' claim to Battiad heritage.[44]

Such a motivation for *H.* 2 allows for a wide range of performance circumstances – from a very select gathering of Court or Museum to a much broader audience of Alexandrians and others, hence from 'private' to 'public'.[45] It would be interesting to know if and where the *Hymn to Apollo* was performed, and this would settle disputes about the reference of ἐμῷ βασιλῆι ('with my king', vv. 26, 27), but the possibility of public performance, as our knowledge of it in the case of Pindar's epinicians, should not distract us from aspects of the texts more amenable to study, such as voice. For all the relative certainty with which commentators and critics speak, we cannot be very sure about the first occasion of Callimachus' *Hymns*.[46] But this fact perhaps matters less than some have thought.

The 'mimetic' hymns and lyric poetry

The 'mimetic' hymns of Callimachus are *H.* 2, 5 and 6. The term 'mimetic' is used in this way to describe a narrator who does not stand in the conventional relationship of narrator to audience in a hymn, but appears as a fictional character who addresses himself or other fictional characters, rather than the audience of the hymn,[47] in the case of the *Hymns* one who presents himself as a participant in a ritual, and gives the audience the sense of witnessing a festival in progress.[48] Along with mime,[49] scholars have often cited lyric and elegiac poets as models for this effect:[50] e.g., Sappho's

[43] Cameron 1995: 408 thinks that this emphasis suggests performance at Cyrene.

[44] See Cahen 1930: 46–7, 69–70 on the Ptolemies being placed in *H.* 2 in a line of succession to the Battiads.

[45] E.g. at a court symposium such as those suggested by Barbantani 2001: 21, perhaps in the presence of important figures from across the Greek world (and hence not restricted exclusively to the court).

[46] See Cairns 1992: 15 on the openness of possible contexts for Hellenistic hymns.

[47] See Harder 1992: 386.

[48] The term is not ideal (cf. Hunter 1992: 13 and Pretagostini 1991: 253, who prefers 'drammatici' or 'dramatic') but it is now widespread, and hence a convenient term for an unusual effect. See, however, Cairns 1992: 10.

[49] See, e.g., Bulloch 1985a: 6.

[50] For the ways in which Callimachus' mimetic hymns develop elements in Archaic hexameter hymns, especially *h. Ap.* 144–76 on the Deliades and the subsequent address to them including a narratorial self-description, see Fantuzzi 1993a: 931, Hunter–Fuhrer 2002 and Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 363–5.

epithalamia,[51] Alcman *PMGF* 1 and 30,[52] Xenophanes fr. 1 D.–K.,[53] Theognis,[54] choral lyric, in particular Pindar,[55] and hymn and epinician.[56] Albert, on the other hand, concludes his survey of previous scholarship by categorising, in Archaic poetry, only Archilochus fr. 8 W. (possibly also frr. 105, 106 W.), Anacreon *PMG* 356,[57] Alcman *PMGF* 3 (possibly also *PMGF* 30) and a few fragments of Sappho as mimetic.[58]

A more systematic survey of aspects in Archaic poetry resembling the mimetic effects in Callimachus, and why scholars have cited such aspects as models, may help to clarify the main points of contact between Callimachean mimesis and earlier poetry. Mimetic poems, such as the *Hymn to Apollo*, have a narrator who speaks, at least some of the time, as if witnessing an event, not just reciting a poem. This in turn tends to transport the audience to another locale, and gives them the impression of witnessing the same event. Several phenomena in Archaic poetry are relevant: pseudo- or quasi-intimacy,[59] pseudo-spontaneity,[60] and references to the circumstances of the performance or setting of lyric poetry.[61]

Scodel suggests that poets such as Alcaeus may have intended their poetry for a wider secondary audience than merely that of the friends to whom it appears to be addressed.[62] The effect on such a secondary audience of references to matters of 'local' interest is to give an impression of eavesdropping, which is akin to the mimetic setting of some Callimachean hymns. The audience eavesdrops on the narrator's presence and behaviour at a festival. In poems such as Alcaeus fr. 38 (a) V. (πῶνε [καὶ μέθυ᾽ ὤ] Μελάνιππ᾽ ἄμ᾽ ἔμοι,[63] 'drink [and get drunk] with me, [o] Melanippus') a secondary audience feels it is admitted to a symposium. In Callimachus' mimetic hymns the audience feels itself admitted to a

[51] E.g. Wheeler 1930: 218, Von der Mühll 1940: 423. [52] E.g. Von der Mühll 1940: 423.
[53] E.g. Herter 1956: 37.
[54] E.g. Dornseiff 1939: 24–5, as part of a much older history. Albert 1988: 33–6 rightly rejects Xenophanes fr. 1 D.–K. ('Xenophanes seems to be describing an ideal symposium, not one actually in progress', Gerber 1999: 415) and the Theognis corpus as mimetic.
[55] E.g. Dornseiff 1921: 85, Hopkinson 1984a: 3, Bulloch 1985a: 7. [56] E.g. Depew 1993: 58.
[57] Rightly arguing the two halves are from one poem, against Von der Mühll 1940: 423.
[58] Albert 1988: 46. Albert's definition of a mimetic poem is effectively one with 'Szenerieveränderung', 'change in the setting' (cf. Albert 1988: 24–5), which unnecessarily restricts his scope (cf. the criticisms of Schenkeveld 1990 and Harder 1992: 385), and so does not allow for a clear picture of the development of mimetic poems from certain aspects of earlier non-mimetic poetry.
[59] See, e.g., Carey 1995: 96, Scodel 1996: 61 and p. 41 above.
[60] See, e.g., Scodel 1996: 64–8 and pp. 67–73 above.
[61] See in particular the important discussions in Fantuzzi 1993a and Depew 2000 on the adaptations by Callimachus of hymnic deictic markers of the 'here and now' of performance. See also on lyric deixis Danielewicz 1990 and the articles in Felson 2004, especially D'Alessio 2004.
[62] See Scodel 1996: 61 and p. 41 above. [63] Suppl. Diehl.

particular, local, often restricted, ritual (e.g. in *H.* 6, seemingly set at the exclusively female Thesmophoria).

Pindaric epinicians are also pseudo-intimate and designed for reperformance.[64] On such a reperformance, in changed circumstances, perhaps in an entirely different location, passages such as *P.* 5.77–81 are mimetic:[65]

> πολύθυτον ἔρανον
> ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι
> Ἄπολλον, τεᾷ,
> Καρνήϊ, ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν
> Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν·
>
> From there receiving the sacrifice-rich meal,
> o Apollo Carneius, we revere at your feast
> the well-built city of Cyrene.

At the original performance, probably at the Carneia at Cyrene,[66] these lines refer to the wider context of the performance of the song. But subsequently they evoke this setting, and give the reader or audience the sense of being at the Carneia themselves (at least in part of the poem). This effect is not as powerful or sustained as that in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*,[67] which also purports to be set at the Carneia,[68] but is similar. It is important to realise that this is a deliberate effect in Pindar, as in earlier lyric. Bing suggests that encountering Archaic and Classical occasional poetry as text, with the clarity of voice which would have been apparent in performance confused by the silence of the book roll, may have triggered Callimachus' experimentation with voice in his mimetic hymns.[69] But some of this ambiguity is designed – if *P.* 5 *was* choral, and σεβίζομεν ('we revere', v. 80) spoken by a chorus of Cyreneans, this would not have been apparent on monodic reperformance in Athens, Syracuse or Aegina, and hence the voice would have been confused. This again demonstrates

[64] Cf. pp. 41 and 38–40 above.

[65] Cf. Herington 1985: 54–7 on first-person statements in lyric being akin to 'dramatic impersonations' on reperformance.

[66] See Farnell 1932: 168, Krummen 1990: 114–16, D'Alessio 1994a: 123 n. 19. Burton 1962: 135–6 is more cautious.

[67] *P.* 5 is not mimetic in this way throughout the ode, an important difference from the situation in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*.

[68] Cf. pp. 130–3 below.

[69] See, e.g., Bing 1993a: 190. Cf. also Tueller 2004: 300 for a similar suggestion. But see Carey 1999: 20 on possible ambiguities in performance in the case of Bacchylides, such as his use of blurred speech boundaries at 3.9–22 making it unclear whether the chorus is speaking qua narrator ('Bacchylides') or qua character. Cf. also Pfeijffer 2004: 229–30 for similar effects in Pindar (e.g. *N.* 5.22–42). It is not always obvious in an orally performed poem who is speaking.

the dangers of asserting that we should explain the differences between Archaic and Hellenistic poetry mainly in terms of a shift from songs to books.[70]

Clearly fictional addresses also exist in lyric, such as those in Anacreon *PMG* 356, which is hardly meant to follow accurately the degeneration of a symposium, but to evoke such a progress:[71]

(a) ἄγε δὴ φέρ᾽ ἡμὶν ὦ παῖ
κελέβην, ὅκως ἄμυστιν
προπίω, τὰ μὲν δέκ᾽ ἐγχέας
ὕδατος, τὰ πέντε δ᾽ οἴνου
κυάθους ὡς ἀνυβρίστως
ἀνὰ δηῦτε βασσαρήσω.

(b) ἄγε δηῦτε μηκέτ᾽ οὕτω
πατάγῳ τε καλαλητῷ
Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ᾽ οἴνῳ
μελετῶμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς
ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις.

(a) Come, then, boy and bring me
the cup, so I may drain a long draught dry,
and pour in ten ladles of water to five of wine,
so that I may decorously
be once more in Bacchic ecstasy.

(b) Come, let's not drink like Scythians
with crashing and shouting over wine,
instead drinking with restraint in the midst of beautiful hymns.

These addresses are not in fact directed to the audience of the symposium at which the poem is recited, but give them the impression of eavesdropping on a more rowdy version which the narrator is attending – they are mimetic. Similarly, the setting of some sympotic elegy is clearly fictitious,[72] e.g. Archil. fr. 4.6–9 W.[73]

Archaic pseudo-spontaneity, the (false) impression that the poet is still composing while the song is under way,[74] also resembles mimesis, insofar as the audience feels present at the composition of the poem, as when the

[70] Cf. Depew 2000 for the ways in which Callimachus develops the use of deictic markers in earlier hymnic poetry, and the gradual intensifying of these markers over time leading eventually to Callimachus' 'mimetic' hymns. See also Rutherford 2001b: 176–8 for the suggestion that already in Pindar's *Paeans* passages of self-description may have been meant to accommodate secondary audiences and to help to 'construct' their setting for them.

[71] See Albert 1988: 51–2.

[72] See Bowie 1993: 28–9.

[73] Set on a ship, but performed at a symposium, see Bowie 1986: 15–18.

[74] Cf. pp. 67–73 above.

Pindaric narrator, for example, breaks off a narrative and asks what direction to take (e.g. *P.* 11.38–40). Similar is the effect of inserted 'beginnings' such as Pindar *O.* 1.17–18 (ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου | λάμβαν', 'take down the Dorian lyre from its hook') and Bacchylides fr. 20B.*init.* which portray a song which is in fact already under way as not yet begun in earnest:[75]

> ὦ βάρβιτε, μηκέτι πάσσαλον φυλ̣ά̣ς̣[σων
> ἑπτάτονον λ[ι]γυρὰν κάππαυε γᾶρυν·
> δεῦρ' ἐς ἐμὰς χέρας·[76]
>
> O lyre, no longer guard your hook,
> and stop your clear seven-toned voice,
> but come to my hands.

These lines mimic the act of beginning the song itself. This seems to find an echo in the *Hymn to Apollo*, where the narrator bids the chorus dance and play (vv. 12ff.) and sing a paean (v. 25), which then appears to follow.[77] Most striking of all the examples of fictional statements in lyric relating to songs as if they had not yet begun is the opening of Pindar's *N.* 3 (extensively quoted above),[78] which like the *Hymn to Apollo* portrays the narrator as awaiting a choral song. There the narrator asks the Muse to come to Aegina (vv. 1–3) because the chorus is eagerly awaiting the song (vv. 3–4). He then asks the Muse to provide him with an abundance of song, and to begin a hymn for Zeus (vv. 9–12). This hymn, which the narrator will impart to the chorus (κοινάσομαι, 'I shall share', v. 12), is the epinician itself (cf. *N.* 1.5–6 where the epinician in praise of ἀελλοπόδων . . . ἵππων, 'horses with feet like storms', is called a ὕμνος . . . Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν, 'hymn for Zeus of Aetna'). But the ode, sung by the chorus, must already be under way. When this ode was reperformed monodically the quasi-monodic first-person statements proclaiming a chorus awaiting a song from the Muse were mimetic – the audience gets the impression that the narrator is present at a different performance and context, to which they are being admitted as eavesdroppers.

One obvious difference between these lyric passages and the situation in Callimachus' mimetic hymns is that the scene to which the audience is transported in Callimachus is more than just that of another song or similar

[75] Cf. also Alcman *PMGF* 3, 1.1ff.

[76] See Albert 1988: 48 n. 130 who seems to suggest that Bacchylides fr. 20B amounts to a Szenerieveränderung on the part of the speaker himself, comparing also Pindar *N.* 1.7, *P.* 2.67f., and Bacchylides 5.9ff.

[77] See pp. 127–30 below.

[78] See pp. 43–4, 84–5.

context. Rather they are taken to a ritual or festival (which can be as far away as Argos in *H.* 5). Nevertheless, references to the setting or performance of a lyric song, particularly if public, can approach the Callimachean situation. When Alcman in his *partheneia* has his female chorus describe the beauty of their leaders, such as Agido (*PMGF* 1.40ff.) and Hagesichora (*PMGF* 1.51ff.), describe their actions (Ἀ[σ]τυμέλοισα δέ μ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται, | ἀλλὰ τὸ]ν πυλεῶν᾽ ἔχοισα, 'Astymeloesa does not answer me at all, but holding the garland', *PMGF* 3, fr. 3.64–5), and challenge the audience ἦ οὐχ ὁρῆις; ('do you not see?', *PMGF* 1.50), this effectively evokes the setting of the song. Again, on reperformance, such statements are not merely descriptive but mimetic.[79]

Furthermore, remarks about the progress of a public song can closely resemble those about the progress of a public festival, as in *Pythian* 6. The poem begins with a plural imperative – Ἀκούσατ᾽ ('Listen') and suggests that the narrator, chorus and audience are participating in a procession (προσοιχόμενοι, 'going towards', v. 4) along the Sacred Way at Delphi, past the treasuries of the Greek states to the temple of Apollo (ὀμφαλὸν ἐριβρόμου | χθονὸς ἐς νάιον, 'to the holy navel of the load-roaring earth', vv. 3–4).[80] Indeed, because this ode is monostrophic, and lacks first-person singular forms, many critics have suggested it is a genuine processional ode, recited alongside a victory procession.[81] Whether this was the case or not, 'the actual treasuries are replaced by a metaphorical storehouse of songs',[82] the ἑτοῖμος ὕμνων | θησαυρός ('ready treasure-house of songs', vv. 7–8). A comment about the setting of the poem becomes one about the poem itself. Song and situation blend.

Some scholars see a forerunner of the Callimachean situation of a narrator who is also a celebrant in Pindaric first persons which they think can refer to the chorus or chorus leader (putting us 'at' the performance), or the victor, as well as the poet or his persona (e.g. in the narration of the myth).[83] This view of the Pindaric 'I', which develops Slater's approach, I have argued, following Lefkowitz, to be largely mistaken.[84] Even if first-person statements can have, for example, an exemplary function for the

[79] Cf. Herington 1985: 55.

[80] See Fantuzzi 1993a: 944 n. 49 for the opening of *P.* 6 as analogous to the opening imperatives of Call. *H.* 5 and *H.* 6.

[81] See Burton 1962: 15, 24, though it is not certain that monostrophic odes were processional. Cf. also Heath, M. 1988: 192, who remarks that *P.* 6 and *N.* 2 are the only Pindaric epinicians without first-person (*sc.* singular) forms.

[82] Race 1997: I.312. [83] See, e.g., Hopkinson 1984a: 3, Bulloch 1985a: 7, Falivene 1990: 116.

[84] Slater 1969: 89, Lefkowitz, e.g., 1991.

victor or the audience, the primary reference is to the narrator of the poem.[85] Pindar coordinates his first-person statements towards the production of a consistent and coherent persona.

Hopkinson comments that in Pindar 'it is usually possible to distinguish [presumably within one poem] between these two voices [*sc.* chorus' and poet's], which Call. merges into one',[86] followed by Calame and Bing, who see a confusion in Callimachus of voices which would have been clear on the original performance of a lyric poem.[87] Bing explicitly links this confusion with approaching lyric poems as texts, obscuring the original distinctions. But in the case of epinicians, at least, these distinctions are illusory – the first person refers to the poet.

It is the Hellenistic view of lyric voice which is important. The scholia to Pindar *do* invoke a choral speaker for epinician first persons, but only rarely, to resolve interpretative difficulties.[88] This suggests that Hellenistic readers generally understood the speaker of Pindaric epinicians to be the poet. Nevertheless, controversy over specific passages may have attracted the interest of Callimachus, as it did in other cases (e.g. the interpretation of Homer).[89] But we can hardly take Callimachean ambiguity of voice in his mimetic poems straightforwardly as a mis*reading* (deliberate or not) of epinician first persons, given the general clarity of such first persons, even when reading, rather than hearing, the poems. If ambiguity between chorus and poet was an inspiration for Callimachus' mimetic hymns, this seems much more likely in poems such as Alcman *PMGF* 3 or Pindar *Paean* 6.[90] But even these poems seem less important a model than the mimetic effects of pseudo-intimacy and pseudo-spontaneity, particularly on the reperformance, or reading, of lyric poetry.

Hymn *1*

Ζηνὸς ἔοι τί κεν ἄλλο παρὰ σπονδῇσιν ἀείδειν
λώϊον ἢ θεὸν αὐτόν, ἀεὶ μέγαν, αἰὲν ἄνακτα,
Πηλαγόνων ἐλατῆρα, δικασπόλον Οὐρανίδῃσι;
πῶς καί νιν, Δικταῖον ἀείσομεν ἠὲ Λυκαῖον;

Zeus – when offering drinks to him what else is there better to sing
than the god himself, always great, always lord,

[85] Cf. pp. 63–6 above. [86] Hopkinson 1984a: 3 n. 2.
[87] See Calame 1993: 48, Bing 1993a: 190.
[88] E.g. Σ ad P. 5.72/96a Drachmann 1903–27: II.183, cf. Lefkowitz 1991: 78–81, 180, D'Alessio 1994a: 117–18 with n. 3.
[89] See, e.g., Rengakos 1992. [90] Cf. Tsagarakis 1977: 55–60, D'Alessio 1994a: 124–6.

> who drove the Pelagonians in flight, the judge to the gods?
> How shall we sing of him, as Dictaean or Lycaean? (*H.* 1.1–4)

With respect to the *Homeric Hymns* there is both continuity and change here. The first word establishes the subject of the hymn, as in many *Homeric Hymns*,[91] but the poem also opens with two questions. This is a significant shift. No *Homeric Hymn* begins in this way, and indeed only *h.Ap.*, in both its Delian and Pythian sections, preserves any narratorial questions (vv. 19ff., 207ff., both 'how shall I sing of you?', neither as a beginning).[92] *H.Bacch.* 1–7, however, presumes that one or more questions have been asked of Dionysus, significantly concerning his birthplace, which were probably near the beginning of the hymn.[93] Other hexameter verse does not produce any parallels for this sort of beginning, but Callimachus also begins *Hymn* 4 with a question.[94]

These shifts represent alterations to the normal hexameter hymnal voice of the Archaic period at the very beginning of a hymn which would have stood first in any collection of Callimachus' *Hymns*. The questions by the narrator immediately draw attention to their speaker, and also mark a change towards a more autonomous and self-motivated narrator – the questions are not to a god, nor is there a request for assistance or information from the Muses. A more independent voice is a characteristic of the narrators of Archaic elegy, and also Pindar.[95]

There are several examples of opening questions outside hexameters in Archaic poetry. In Archilochus fr. 172.1ff. W. the narrator asks Lycambes what he meant by his actions, and who unhinged his wits. Theognis 351–2 and 649–50 both begin with questions to the personified Poverty, while in vv. 825–30 the narrator asks his fellow symposiasts how they can stand singing.[96] Alcaeus fr. 383 V. asks if the weapons of Dinnomenes still lie in the Myrsineon (addressee unnamed), fr. 119.1 V. reads τίς τ' ὤ πον[('who . . .?', perhaps to Pittacus), *SLG* S286 col.ii.9 has τίς ἔρωτος ('who . . . of

[91] E.g. *h.Hom.* 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32.

[92] The *Homeric Hymns* usually have the name of the god in the accusative, along with one of several phrases such as ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν ('I begin to sing', e.g. *h.Cer.* 1) or sim. Some have an epic-like address to the Muse to sing of the god (e.g. *h.Merc.* 1, *h.Ven.* 1).

[93] Did Callimachus know a collection of *Homeric Hymns* where *H.Bacch.* stood first?

[94] See pp. 150–3 below. [95] Cf. pp. 78–9, 84–9 above.

[96] So Gerber 1999: 293 n. 2 following B. Bravo, *Annales Littéraires de l'Univ. de Besançon* 429 (1990): 41–51 (*non vidi*). Callinus fr.1.1f. W. upbraids the νέοι ('young men') with questions about their idleness and lack of courage, Mimnermus fr. 1.1f. W. asks what life or pleasure there can be without Aphrodite (with no explicit addressee), and Solon fr. 36.1–2 W. asks whether he stopped before achieving his goals (with no explicit addressee), but these are not certainly from the beginning of poems.

love . . .?') in the first line of a poem by Sappho, Alcaeus or Anacreon, and Anacreon *PMG* 417.1ff. asks a πῶλε Θρῃκίη ('Thracian filly') why she flees.[97] The most important parallels are, however, from Pindar. At the beginning of *O.* 2 the narrator asks ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι ('lyre-ruling songs') whom they should celebrate, while the opening of *I.* 7 similarly asks Thebe which of her glories she took most delight in. This theme of the choice of subject for the song bears a general resemblance to the second of the questions in *H.* 1 on whether Zeus should be sung of as Dictaean or Lycaean. Closer still is the opening of, significantly, Pindar's own *Hymn to Zeus*:

> Ἰσμηνὸν ἢ χρυσαλάκατον Μελίαν
> ἢ Κάδμον ἢ Σπαρτῶν ἱερὸν γένος ἀνδρῶν
> ἢ τὰν κυανάμπυκα Θήβαν
> ἢ τὸ πάντολμον σθένος Ἡρακλέος
> ἢ τὰν Διωνύσου πολυγαθέα τιμὰν
> ἢ γάμον λευκωλένου Ἁρμονίας
> ὑμνήσομεν;
>
> Shall we sing of Ismenus or Melia with her golden distaff
> or Cadmus or the Sown Men's holy race or Thebe with her dark headband
> or Heracles' might which dares all or Dionysus' delightful honour
> or the wedding of white-armed Harmonia? (fr. 29 S.–M.)

The theme is again the choice of subject for the song, and notably as in Callimachus the addressee here is not explicit, and there is a plural future verb of singing in an opening question in a hymn to Zeus.[98] That the addressee is not explicit in Callimachus is another oddity – opening questions are usually *to* someone: the Muses, the god being hymned, one's song or oneself. Though Pindar fr. 29 S.–M. has no explicit addressee, see, in common with some of the apparent opening questions listed in nn. 96 and 97 above (e.g. Mimn. fr. 1.1f. W., Solon fr. 36.1–2 W., Anacr. *PMG* 412, Sim. *PMG* 506), in the majority of cases this is probably because of the fragmentary state of preservation of the poems involved. The addressee was probably named or indicated soon after the question.

[97] Again questions which may not stand first in their poems: Sappho fr. 135 V. has the narrator ask Irana why the swallow wakes her, Anacreon *PMG* 363 asks why the unnamed addressee is aflutter, Anacreon *PMG* 412 asks an unnamed addressee if the speaker can go home, Simonides *PMG* 506 asks who today has so often been crowned in victory (addressee not explicit), Apollodorus *PMG* 701 asks who has come to the door of the speaker, and Pratinas *PMG* 708 begins with a series of questions about din and dancing (probably from a satyr play). Anon. *PMG* 1008 asks the Muse why Samians bear a grudge.

[98] Though ἀείσομεν at *H.* 1.4 may be a short-vowel aorist subjunctive, or ambiguous between aorist subjunctive and future. Cf. McLennan 1977: 29–30.

There are two cases closely parallel to that in Callimachus with regard to the addressee:[99]

> Τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοισ(ιν ?) ἢ καταπαυομένοισιν
> ἢ βαθύζωνόν τε Λατώ
> καὶ θοᾶν ἵππων ἐλάτειραν ἀεῖσαι;
>
> What better when beginning or ending is there to sing
> than deep-girdled Leto and she who drives swift horses?
>
> (Pindar fr. 89a S.–M.)

> τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοισιν
> ἢ καταπαυομένοις ἢ τὸ ποθεινότατον;
>
> What better when beginning
> or ending than the most desirable? (Dionysius Chalcus fr. 6 W.)

The Pindaric opening is from a prosodion or processional ode, and there seems to be a clear allusion to this (cf. ἐλάτειραν) in Callimachus (Zeus as Πηλαγόνων ἐλατῆρα, 'who drove the Pelagonians in flight', v. 3). Given the close similarity of the Dionysius passage (which may end an elegy, as it ends Athenaeus at 15.702b–c), the Pindaric opening may quickly have become proverbial – it is apparently parodied at *Knights* 1264–6, the scholia to which preserve fr. 89a S.–M., or may itself have been based on a common way of beginning songs (the Dionysius fragment is also quoted by Eustathius ad *Il.* 18.570, who calls it παροιμίωδης, 'proverbial'). The questions in these two passages are, as the opening two questions in Callimachus, 'rhetorical', that is they expect or demand no answer. Whether Pindar's prosodion or Dionysius made clear to whom such a question might be addressed, the question has an informal, familiar aspect when compared to questions to the Muses or sim. This informal tone, together with the fact that Dionysius Chalcus was a writer of sympotic elegy, fit in well with the setting of *H.* 1, established in the first line, a symposium.[100] The opening two questions in *H.* 1 are to the fellow symposiasts the hymn assumes. The plural ἀείσομεν ('shall we sing') in v. 4 thus continues the sympotic situation from the first line, as the narrator identifies himself with his fellow drinkers and together 'they' ask a further question, which again has no explicit addressee. This sympotic situation at the beginning of a poem is not unparalleled, even in poems not normally

[99] Cf. Hunter–Fuhrer 2002: 170–1.

[100] Note παρὰ σπονδῇσιν, 'when offering drinks', see Hopkinson 1984b: 139, 1988: 122, Harder 1992: 390. Hence *H.* 1 can be seen as obliquely developing a mimetic situation (so Harder 1992: 387).

associated with the symposium (cf. *I.* 6.*init.*), but it is again unusual in the context of a hexameter hymn.

It is only in v. 7, after the narrator has powerfully expressed his great confusion (μάλα, 'very', v. 5), and given the two alternatives of Cretan Ida or Arcadia (vv. 6–7) that we get a more conventional question to Zeus, concerning which of the traditions about his birth is true. Here we are close to the form of *h.Bacch.* 1–7, where the narrator recounts the claims about Dionysus' birthplace, clearly following a question (γάρ, 'because', in *h.Bacch.* 1), presumably to the god himself.[101] But in the *Homeric Hymn* the narrator condemns the false versions himself – ψευδόμενοι ('liars', v. 6) – whereas Callimachus' narrator turns to Zeus. Zeus himself answers in line 8 – Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται ('Cretans are always liars'), and the narrator enthusiastically (καὶ γάρ, 'indeed') agrees in apostrophe to the god (which confirms Zeus as the speaker of the Cretan proverb):[102]

καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ᾽ οὐ θάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί.

Indeed, o lord, the Cretans built
your tomb – but you did not die, because you are forever. (vv. 8–9)

Does the fact that the narrator is so ready with a corroborating fact – the existence on Crete of a tomb of Zeus – mean that he had enough knowledge at his disposal to answer his own question? Even here, where a question to the god subordinates the narrator after two unusual sympotic self-motivated questions, Callimachus may be subtly implying that the narrator has other sources of information, and thus a measure of independence. This narratorial autonomy is more prominent still later in the hymn.

The direct address to Zeus which begins in v. 7 continues for the rest of the hymn, which contains the following vocatives: Ζεῦ ('Zeus', vv. 6, 7, 46), πάτερ ('father', vv. 7, 94), Ζεῦ πάτερ ('father Zeus', v. 43), οὐράνιε Ζεῦ ('heavenly Zeus', v. 55), ὦ ἄνα ('o lord', v. 8), ὦνα ('o lord', v. 33), Κρονίδη πανυπέρτατε ('most-high son of Cronus', v. 91). There are also very frequent second-person verbs, pronouns and adjectives, as both the

[101] See Hunter–Fuhrer 2002: 172.

[102] Cf. Harder 1992: 388, Depew 2004: 119. See, however, Hopkinson 1984b: 140, who thinks the speaker of the proverb is not certain, and Lüddecke 1998: 16–17, who suggests that while a naïve reading where Zeus responds is suggested, the echo of Epimenides fr. 1 D.–K. (Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί, 'Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, lazy bellies'), which itself recalls Hes. *Th.* 26, undermines the narrator's authority here (as elsewhere in the hymn), by recalling the possibility of poetic lies.

birth (vv. 10–54) and achievements (vv. 55–90) of Zeus are related to him in direct address. This is a distinct shift with regard to most of the *Homeric Hymns*, as only *h.Ap.* has this kind of extended address. This apostrophising draws attention to the narrator. It is a device for establishing a particular relationship with an object or being, one which helps to constitute the persona of the speaker.[103] But whereas *h.Ap.* exploits the animating presuppositions of apostrophe,[104] which depicts the being or object addressed as potentially capable of response, to engineer an epiphany of the god hymned,[105] in Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus* interest centres around the careful modulations of Archaic hymnal and related voices which are possible within the narrator's voice. A concern with the visibility of the narrator is particularly apparent in vv. 60–5:

δηναιοὶ δ᾽ οὐ πάμπαν ἀληθέες ἦσαν ἀοιδοί·
φάντο πάλον Κρονίδῃσι διάτριχα δώματα νεῖμαι·
τίς δέ κ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Οὐλύμπῳ τε καὶ Ἄϊδι κλῆρον ἐρύσσαι,
ὃς μάλα μὴ νενίηλος; ἐπ᾽ ἰσαίῃ γὰρ ἔοικε
πήλασθαι· τὰ δὲ τόσσον ὅσον διὰ πλεῖστον ἔχουσι.
ψευδοίμην ἀίοντος ἅ κεν πεπίθοιεν ἀκουήν.

The singers of old were not altogether truthful –
they said lots apportioned three ways their dwellings to the sons of Cronus.
But for Olympus and for Hades who would draw lots?
Who but a complete idiot? It's reasonable, you see, to draw lots
for what's equal. These things, though, are as far apart as possible.
Would that I lie so as to convince the listener's ear.

The narrator of *H.* 1 here rejects a particular version of a myth, where Zeus and his brothers receive their different realms by lot. As Fuhrer notes,[106] this strongly recalls Pindaric rejections of myths, in particular that in *O.* 1.25ff. (again a poem at the beginning of a (Hellenistic) book). The Pindaric narrator there opposes himself to the traditional version where the gods gave Pelops his ivory shoulder after Demeter had eaten his original one at a cannibalistic feast organised by Pelops' father, Tantalus. As Callimachus' narrator opposes himself to the δηναιοὶ . . . ἀοιδοί, 'singers of old', Pindar's speaks ἀντία προτέρων ('against earlier poets', *O.* 1.36).

The narrators in both Pindar and Callimachus reject the traditional myths as false – *H.* 1.60 announcing that previous poets 'were not altogether *truthful* (ἀληθέες)', *O.* 1.28–34 arguing that 'as mortals talk tales deceive decorated past truth with intricate lies' and that Charis can make

[103] See Culler 1981: 142. [104] Cf. Culler 1981: 138–41.
[105] Cf. Bergren 1982: 90–5. [106] Fuhrer 1988: 53–60.

even the unbelievable believable. After the rejection in Callimachus we are told the traditional myth in v. 61, which also reflects *O.* 1.47–51, where we hear of the rejected cannibalising of Pelops from an envious neighbour (v. 47).

As Fuhrer comments, Callimachus is here exploiting 'Pindar's technique of interweaving personal statements into the narrative'.[107] The narratorial visibility which Callimachus achieves in this way is something very different from that in the *Homeric Hymns*, even the exceptional *Hymn to Apollo*, and engineered through the importation of lyric elements into the hymnal voice in *H.* 1. But although Fuhrer is right to see *O.* 1 as the proximate model for Callimachus here, we should not neglect the use of this type of rejection to characterise the narrator in other poems of Pindar, as well as other lyric and Archaic poetry. In Pindar such rejections (e.g. at *O.* 1.52, *O.* 9.35ff., *N.* 5.14–17), usually couched in the first person, form part of the careful construction of a broader 'moral' persona.[108] We also find such a persona in, for example, the *Works and Days*, and it is implied by the situation of Solon's political poems and Theognis' advice.

However, unlike Apollonius, Callimachus in *H.* 1 does not exploit this moralising aspect of Archaic narrative voices to construct another 'moralist'. Emotional and evaluative language generally eschewed by the Homeric narrator, but much more common in Archaic lyric, elegy and *iambos*, appears in v. 63 – ὃς μάλα μὴ νενίηλος ('who but a complete idiot?') in a question on who would draw lots for Hades. Μάλα ('very') is rare outside speech in the Homeric epics, though not in the *Homeric Hymns*,[109] while νενίηλος is a *hapax*,[110] and glossed by Hesychius as τυφλός, ἀπόπληκτος, ἀνόητος ('blind, stupid, unintelligent') and the scholia as ὁ ματαιόφρων, ὁ ἐστερημένος τοῦ αἰόλλειν καὶ κινεῖν τὸν νοῦν ('the empty-headed, unable to shift and move one's mind'). But this type of language is part of a suggestion, as Fuhrer notes,[111] that the rejected myth is not only false, but also implausible. If only an utter fool would draw lots for Olympus and Hades, would the gods have done so? It is plausible and reasonable (ἔοικε, v. 63) to draw lots for things which are ἐπ' ἰσαίῃ ('equal', v. 63), but, by implication, not for outcomes so wide apart (v. 64). Rationalistic motivations replace moralistic ones.[112]

In one sense the first-person wish (ψευδοίμην, 'would that I lie') in v. 65 to tell lies that convince the listener's ear caps this characterisation. But this

[107] Fuhrer 1988: 59. [108] Cf. pp. 68–9, 97–9 above. [109] Cf. pp. 91–4 above.
[110] See McLennan 1977: 100. [111] Fuhrer 1988: 57–8.
[112] But how rational are they in fact? Lots *are* normally drawn for what's *un*equal, as Haslam 1993: 116 n. 9 points out – what would be the point of drawing lots for things of equal value?

also marks a more intrusive and disruptive intrusion by the narrator. As Fuhrer sees,[113] Callimachus has in vv. 62–5 reversed the notion in *O.* 1.28–34 that the rejected myth was plausible or believable.[114] But more importantly, Callimachus has also altered the implications for his own narrator's authority of the mention of lies and the question of poetic truth. In *O.* 1, as shown above,[115] the Pindaric narrator stresses the power of poetry to deceive (vv. 28–9) and make the unbelievable believable (vv. 30–2), and echoes, at the end of the poem, the language used of poetry's deceptive power (δεδαιδαλμένοι, v. 29 ~ δαιδαλωσέμεν, v. 105; ἐμήσατο, v. 31 ~ μήδεται, v. 107).[116] In Callimachus, however, there is no contrast between the falsehoods of others and one's own truth. At *H.* 1.65 the narrator associates the possibility of convincing falsehood *directly with himself*. While this might be acceptable for the Muses in the *Theogony* (vv. 26–8), it is striking when expressed by the narrator himself. Such a deliberate undercutting of one's authority is another remarkable change in the narratorial voice when compared to Archaic hexameters or lyric encomiastic verse such as Pindar's.[117] All the more so, because *H.* 1 is clearly encomiastic – most explicitly at vv. 85ff. which mention 'our ruler',[118] with clear echoes of the description of Zeus himself at v. 57.[119] And here we have another change from Pindar – instead of the grand public praise of the epinician, a form which turned the choral hymning of gods to the praise of mortal men, we have oblique praise in a hymn to a god, transferred to the private context of the symposium.

One reason for a close critical association of Callimachean narrators with the poet himself has been the scholarship the narrators of various texts display. In *H.* 1 we find a variety of scholarly knowledge. Lines 18ff. show a close knowledge of the rivers of Arcadia (cf. Callimachus' *On the Rivers in the Inhabited World* in the *Suda*, T1.19 Pf.), there is etymological play with Κούρητες ('Curetes') at lines 52–4, while the 'they say' statements (φασι, 'they say', v. 6 on the alleged birth of Zeus on Cretan Ida, φάντο, 'they said', v. 61 on earlier accounts of the allotting of divine realms) advertise the narrator's sources, which we might thus take as obliquely suggesting a

[113] Fuhrer 1988: 59–60.
[114] Fuhrer 1988: 60–1 comments that the opening of the hymn also stresses the importance of 'common-sense reasoning'.
[115] Pp. 76–8. [116] See p. 77 above for fuller quotation and translation.
[117] Lüddecke 1998: 9–33 sees a careful undermining of the narrator's authority throughout *H.* 1, not just at vv. 60ff.
[118] See McKay 1962a: 13–15.
[119] Surely Philadelphus, hence the stress on a myth where Zeus' elder brothers do not begrudge him the overlordship of the gods. See further Clauss 1986, Stephens 2003: 77–9.

dependence on written sources,[120] as also the use of inferential ποθι at v. 38.[121] But in general *H.* 1 develops its 'scholar' much more obliquely than the *Aetia*, for example. Nevertheless, the presence of erudition, alongside the private symposium evoked, the praise of Ptolemy and the intrusive narrator all point to more of an association with the historical author than Cameron allows.[122] The gap between narrator and author is not as great as it is in other *Hymns*, but equally there is no explicit identification. We should read this as a deliberate openness as to the figure of the narrator in the poem that would have stood first in the collection.

Hymn *2*

In contrast to the *Hymn to Zeus* the setting the *Hymn to Apollo* evokes is public – the Carneia, a festival of Apollo as celebrated in Cyrene, Callimachus' homeland. *H.* 2, as *H.* 1, indicates its setting obliquely: it is revealed through the narrator rather than by him. But in *H.* 2 the audience gets a sense of witnessing the festival in progress, so it has to construct for itself rather more of a setting for the hymn. This, however, is not fully revealed until some way into the hymn. A Cyrenean poem might lead us to expect a closer relationship between narrator and author, and this proves to be the case. Here too there is a gradual development.

The *Hymn to Zeus* began with questions, the *Hymn to Apollo* begins with exclamations:

> Οἷον ὁ τὠπόλλωνος ἐσείσατο δάφνινος ὄρπηξ,
> οἷα δ᾽ ὅλον τὸ μέλαθρον· ἑκάς, ἑκὰς ὅστις ἀλιτρός.
>
> How Apollo's laurel sapling shakes!
> How the whole building shakes! Far away, far away, whoever is sinful.
>
> (vv. 1–2)

Again, no *Homeric Hymn* begins in this way. Exclamations of this type are rare in the primary narrative in the Homeric epics, and never occur in the

[120] Formally, of course, a fiction of oral sources ('they *say*') is maintained. But here there is a tension between the oral fiction and the reality that for Callimachus such sources would have been written. Cf. in general Bruss 2004 and also Cuypers 2004: 56–7 on a similar tension with the reality of written sources (and being read) in the *Argonautica*. Note, however, that φασι in v. 6 may merely cover up a Callimachean invention – McLennan 1977: 33 observes there is no other record of Zeus' birth on Ida in Crete.

[121] See pp. 275–8 below on the inferential particles που and ποθι. See also Hunter–Fuhrer 2002: 173 n. 78 for the suggestion that the demand for a plausible fiction in *H.* 1.60ff. itself recalls the voice of scholarship.

[122] See p. 106 above.

Homeric Hymns. Griffin finds 147 examples of the word οἷος ('how', 'in such a way') in characters' speeches in Homer, but only sixteen in the primary narrative, in no case resembling the emotional exclamations found in speeches or here in Callimachus.[123] All of the parallels from Homer quoted by Williams for adverbial οἷον introducing an exclamation are from characters' speeches.[124] There are no narratorial exclamations of similar form in Hesiod. There are some narratorial parallels in Pindar and Bacchylides (e.g. *O*. 9.89, *N*. 4.93, *I*. 6.62, B. 16.30, B. 17.119), though none begins a poem.

The opening exclamations and the breathless ἑκάς, ἑκὰς ὅστις ἀλιτρός ('far away, far away, whoever is sinful') bidding sinners depart form part of the mimetic vv. 1–8.[125] The hymn purports to be a direct commentary on the events outside Apollo's temple as they happen, and Callimachus has chosen the most dramatic moment – just before Apollo's epiphany, which several signs indicate is imminent.[126] Hence the narrator's excited exclamations.

The tone of excited anticipation continues in the next lines:

> καὶ δή που τὰ θύρετρα καλῷ ποδὶ Φοῖβος ἀράσσει·
> οὐχ ὁράᾳς; ἐπένευσεν ὁ Δήλιος ἡδύ τι φοῖνιξ
> ἐξαπίνης, ὁ δὲ κύκνος ἐν ἠέρι καλὸν ἀείδει.
>
> And now Phoebus must be striking the door with his fair foot!
> Don't you see? The Delian palm nods gently
> suddenly, and the swan sings beautifully in the air. (vv. 3–5)

Line 3 opens with καὶ δή, here 'now',[127] followed by an inferential use of που,[128] which here does not, as often in Hellenistic poetry, mark the comments of a 'scholar',[129] but conveys the narrator's emotion – Apollo 'must be' knocking at the door. As if for confirmation of his inference, the narrator asks a fellow worshipper 'do you not see?' at the beginning of v. 4.[130] More signs follow: the Delian palm sways and the swan sings. But the Delian palm is also something of a disruptive presence here. Later in the poem it is clear that the hymn is set at the Carneia in Cyrene, yet v. 4 seems

[123] See Griffin 1986: 46.
[124] See Williams 1978: 15: *Il*. 17.471 (Alcimedon to Automedon), 13.633 (Menelaus to Pisander), 15.287 (Thoas to assembly), 21.57 (Achilles to himself).
[125] The massed 'h' sounds convey the breathlessness, cf. Bing 1993a: 183.
[126] See Williams 1978: 15.
[127] Cf. Williams 1978: 18.
[128] It 'makes the utterance a conjecture' (Williams 1978: 18).
[129] Cf. pp. 275–8 below.
[130] 'An imaginary bystander' (Williams 1978: 19) does not quite do justice to the mimetic setting. The question, which also recalls ἦ οὐχ ὁρῇς ('why, don't you see?') at Alcman *PMGF* 1.50, may also function in a similar fashion in *H*. 2 as a challenge to reader/audience to 'see' what the narrator is describing.

to be firmly set in the Aegean. We should probably see this as a deliberate ambiguity which we should attribute to the implied author, rather than the narrator. Callimachus' narrator is excitedly naming the indications that Apollo is about to appear, but he has been made to describe one of these in such a way as to mislead the audience. The most attractive resolution of the ambiguity is to surmise, with Maass, that the palm at Cyrene was propagated from that on Delos, and could legitimately, if not unambiguously, be called 'Delian'.[131]

The next lines mark a slight development in the voice of the narrator:

> αὐτοὶ νῦν κατοχῆες ἀνακλίνασθε πυλάων,
> αὐταὶ δὲ κληῖδες· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκέτι μακρήν·
> οἱ δὲ νέοι μολπήν τε καὶ ἐς χορὸν ἐντύνασθε.
>
> Now by yourselves slide back, door-bars,
> by yourselves, bolts, because the god is no longer distant.
> And, young men, ready yourselves for singing and dancing. (vv. 6–8)

The imperatives in vv. 6 and 8 to the bars and bolts, and in particular to the νέοι ('young men') to sing suggest that he might be a 'master of ceremonies' of sorts, not merely an excited worshipper. It may be, of course, that these are the redundant commands of an excited celebrant, and that these things take place entirely without his intervention. Nevertheless, Callimachus subtly gives the character of his narrator another dimension through the suggestion that the narrator has a measure of control over the events of the festival.

The worshipper is prominent in the next lines with the *gnome* on the good seeing Apollo (vv. 9–10) and the plural verbs in v. 11 in apostrophe to Apollo:

> ὀψόμεθ' . . . καὶ ἐσσόμεθ' οὔποτε λιτοί.
>
> We shall see . . . and we shall never be mean.

This statement subsumes the narrator into the larger body of worshippers who will not be mean or lowly. Another wish for song (as well as dance) from the νέοι follows in vv. 12–15, but now in the third person, and when the song begins the narrator's personal reaction suggests the 'master of ceremonies' has receded:

> ἠγασάμην τοὺς παῖδας, ἐπεὶ χέλυς οὐκέτ' ἀεργός.
>
> The boys please me, yes, since the lyre is now not idle. (v. 16)

[131] See Maass 1890: 403 For other explanations of Δήλιος ('Delian') see Williams 1978: 19. Calame 1993: 47 n. 17 thinks it places us, initially, on Delos. Cf. also Hunter–Fuhrer 2002: 155.

Here again the development in the setting of the poem is indicated obliquely, by the narrator's sudden reaction, in an 'instantaneous' aorist which expresses 'emotions just conceived'.[132] This portrayal of a reaction to the developments in the setting of the poem is again unlike anything in the *Homeric Hymns*, but bears some resemblance to the pseudo-spontaneous reactions in Archaic poetry, e.g. Pindar's narrator reacting in outrage at his own myth (*O.* 9.35ff.) or Bacchylides' emotional narratorial exclamations during his myths (such as B. 16.30 on Deianeira's plan).[133]

The 'master of ceremonies' appears to return with the command to silence in v. 17:

> εὐφημεῖτ', ἀίοντες ἐπ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἀοιδῇ·
>
> Be silent when listening to Apollo's song.

Another imperative bids the chanting of the traditional Apolline refrain in v. 25:

> ἰὴ ἰὴ φθέγγεσθε·
>
> Say 'hie, hie'.

But in between these two directions, another aspect of the voice of the narrator in *H.* 2 has surfaced, that of the poet knowledgeable in myth. Mythic narrative enters this hymn for the first time. The mention of song in v. 17 prompts a mention of ἀοιδοί ('singers') in v. 18, and in οὐδὲ Θέτις Ἀχιλῆα κινύρεται ('nor did Thetis lament Achilles', v. 20) we meet two familiar figures of epic narration, who are swiftly followed by Niobe in vv. 22–4, who herself features in Achilles' *exemplum* to Priam in *Il.* 24.603ff. In the allusive reference to Niobe (ὁ δακρυόεις ἀναβάλλεται ἄλγεα πέτρος, 'the weeping rock puts off its sorrows', v. 22) and the Iliadic triad Thetis–Achilles–Niobe, we should discern the beginning of a greater grounding of the narrator on the figure of a poet, a teller of mythical narratives. The next lines associate this poetical aspect more closely with the historical Callimachus:

> κακὸν μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζειν.
> ὃς μάχεται μακάρεσσιν, ἐμῷ βασιλῆι μάχοιτο·
> ὅστις ἐμῷ βασιλῆι, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μάχοιτο.
>
> It is wrong to compete with the blessed gods.
> Who fights with the blessed may he fight with my king –
> whoever fights with my king, may he fight with Apollo. (vv. 25–7)

[132] Williams 1978: 28. [133] Cf. pp. 68–72, 99–100 above.

The first-person singular possessive adjective ἐμός ('my') appears for the first time in this hymn, both times with reference to 'my king'. Though these references follow a religious *gnome* in v. 25 and a wish in the optative that whoever fights with the king fight with Apollo, this takes us away from the worshipper and towards the poet. The implied praise for the king in these lines recalls the encomiastic function of the *Hymn to Zeus* (cf. vv. 85ff. and 55ff., discussed above), and hence the figure of the praising poet.[134]

More importantly, after the gradual association of the narrator with the persona of a poet, there come the final lines of the proem to the hymn, which deal with the chorus:

> τὸν χορὸν ὠπόλλων, ὅ τι οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀείδει,
> τιμήσει· δύναται γάρ, ἐπεὶ Διὶ δεξιὸς ἧσται.
> οὐδ' ὁ χορὸς τὸν Φοῖβον ἐφ' ἓν μόνον ἤμαρ ἀείσει,
> ἔστι γὰρ εὔυμνος· τίς ἂν οὐ ῥέα Φοῖβον ἀείδοι;
>
> Apollo will honour the chorus, which sings for him willingly,
> because he is powerful, since he sits at Zeus' right hand.
> Nor will the chorus sing Phoebus for just one day,
> as he is easily sung: who could not easily sing of Phoebus? (vv. 28–31)

Why this attention to the chorus? The narrator previously expressed a concern for the νέοι ('young men') to sing and dance lest they displease Apollo (vv. 12–15),[135] but the lines quoted come significantly just before 'the hymn proper' of vv. 32–96,[136] at the very end of the mimetic opening. Williams suggests that the command ἰὴ ἰὴ φθέγγεσθε ('say "hie, hie"') in v. 25 is directed at the chorus, ordering them 'to sing the paean'.[137] I suggest that we should take the command in v. 25, and the attention to the chorus which follows it, as engineering a deliberate ambiguity about the speaker/singer of the rest of the hymn.[138] The ambiguity which *H.* 2 carefully

[134] The precise identity of the king here is of little importance in the establishment of the narrator's voice – for a summary of the views see Williams 1978: 36. The main candidates are Ptolemies Philadelphus and Euergetes (Pfeiffer 1949–53: I.xxxviii–ix, following Σ ad *H.* 2.26). Cameron (1995: 408) adds Magas (cf. p. 108 above). Selden 1998: 385 points out that by being left open, the reference to the king can serve on more than one occasion, and more than one king.

[135] So Williams 1978: 37. [136] See Williams 1978: 3.

[137] Williams 1978: 35, though he thinks that it is Callimachus who sings vv. 32–96 (1978: 3).

[138] Cf. Bing 1993a: 186–8, who thinks there is definitely a choral song in *H.* 2, but that its *beginning* is obscure, and suggests that it may be best to take vv. 25–96 as the speaker's *perception* of that song. See, however, the doubts of Kofler 1996: 231. Compare also Cairns 1992: 10, who thinks all of Callimachus' hymns are choric.

develops is closely related to the lyric models Callimachus is adapting, and the nature of voice there.[139]

The imperative ἰὴ ἰὴ φθέγγεσθε ('say "hie, hie"') comes at the beginning of the section which ends the mimetic opening. This 'ie' or 'hie' cry is normally a refrain in choral compositions, paeans to Apollo (e.g. Pindar, *Pae*. 2 (fr. 52b S.–M.).35–6, 72–3, 107–8). Moreover, it can represent, as Williams' expression 'to sing the paean' hints, the singing of a longer choral hymn to Apollo, rather than the mere utterance of the refrain ἰὴ ἰὴ ('hie, hie'):

> καὶ ἰηπαιήον' ἄειδον,
> οἷοί τε Κρητῶν παιήονες, οἷσί τε Μοῦσα
> ἐν στήθεσσιν ἔθηκε θεὰ μελίγηρυν ἀοιδήν.
>
> And they sang ie Paean,
> like the paeans of Cretans in whose breasts the goddess Muse
> has put sweet-sounding song. (*h.Ap*. 517–19)

The paean these several Cretans sing together, which resembles those of singers blessed with poetic talent, must amount to more than the repetition of the refrain.[140] In Callimachus a command to a chorus to sing, echoing the refrain of choral paeans to Apollo, followed by lengthy comments about the chorus' song pleasing Apollo, at the margin of the mimetic frame and where the hymn begins in earnest, raises the question: who speaks/sings vv. 32ff.? This is *not* a question about the performance of the hymn but about the fiction which the hymn constructs.

At the beginning of Pindar's *N*. 3,[141] there is a plea by the narrator to begin a choral song (which must have already been under way). *H*. 2 seems closely analogous, as a narrator appears to give way to a chorus. Just as the narrator's character was beginning to be fleshed out, he appears to recede from view altogether. The character of vv. 32ff. supports this view. After the exclamations, questions, apostrophes and first persons of the opening, we find only one address (to the audience in v. 35) and one plural first person

[139] Cf. Harder 2004: 66–7, who notes a parallel with the blurring of the encomiastic voice in Pindar and Bacchylides, on which see Carey 1999: 20 and Pfeijffer 2004: 229–30. Vestrheim 2002 suggests that the voice of *H*. 2 (and also *H*. 5) is so ambiguous that it is incoherent, and does not present a consistent picture of who is speaking, also rejecting the idea of a 'master of ceremonies' as such a figure does not have to describe events to the participants at the rite. But this seems to demand too high a standard of coherence and logic for a poem, and I think we are justified in seeing an ambiguity between different possible and discernible voices in *H*. 2.

[140] For a cognate of παιάν representing a choral hymn to Apollo, see Bacchylides 17.128–9.

[141] See pp. 43–4 and 84–5 above.

(in v. 47) in vv. 32–68. Long descriptive passages abound, such as vv. 42–6 and:

> χρύσεα τὠπόλλωνι τό τ᾽ ἐνδυτὸν ἥ τ᾽ ἐπιπορπίς
> ἥ τε λύρη τό τ᾽ ἄεμμα τὸ Λύκτιον ἥ τε φαρέτρη,
> χρύσεα καὶ τὰ πέδιλα· πολύχρυσος γὰρ Ἀπόλλων.
> καὶ δὲ πουλυκτέανος·
>
> Golden are Apollo's clothes and his buckle
> and his lyre and his Lyctian bow and his quiver,
> and golden are his sandals, because Apollo is gold-rich.
> And rich in possessions. (vv. 32–5)

A change of style need not imply a change of speaker, and we have, of course, moved from mimetic frame to hymnal narrative,[142] but it is consistent with such a change. With the possibility that the speaker of the hymn proper is a chorus, the plural verb κικλήσκομεν ('we call') in v. 47 takes on another aspect, being particularly apt for a choral speaker. There is also a similar plural towards the end of the hymn, significantly in connection with the refrain for Apollo: ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῆον ἀκούομεν ('hie hie Paean we hear', v. 97). This refers in one aspect to the ritual setting of the poem, but we might interpret it as referring more directly to a chorus singing the paean. But to declare this definitively 'choral' would be to simplify the effect in the hymn – there is ambiguity about the speaker, not certainty.[143] The speaker of vv. 32ff. still maintains connections to the narrator of the mimetic opening grounded to some degree on the poet. After the descriptive passage vv. 32–5 cited above, the speaker cites Pytho as evidence for the assertion that Apollo is 'rich in possessions' – Πυθῶνί κε τεκμήραιο ('you can judge by Pytho', v. 35). We do not find this sort of address to the audience in the *Homeric Hymns*, though something similar occurs in the *Iliad*.[144] More importantly, the shift in sense of the verb from Homeric 'ordain' to 'judge' marks a shift towards a scholarly voice. In particular this recalls the voice of *H.* 1.85–6: ἔοικε δὲ τεκμήρασθαι | ἡμετέρῳ μεδέοντι ('it is reasonable to judge by our ruler'), where again the narrator adduces evidence in support of his assertion. In vv. 39–40 we find the improvement (or *correctio*) of a mythological detail which again suits a scholarly narrator close to the historical poet – οὐ λίπος Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποστάζουσιν ἔθειραι, | ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὴν πανάκειαν ('it is not oil which Apollo's hair drips,

[142] Although throughout the narrative part of the *Hymn to Zeus* we find apostrophe and first persons. Cf. pp. 119–20 above.
[143] See Kofler 1996: 233.
[144] Cf. *Il.* 4.223–5, 4.429–31, 5.85–6, 15.697–8, 17.366–7, Richardson 1990: 174–8.

but panacaea itself')[145] – as does the parenthesis in v. 44.[146] Such a parenthetic remark resembles a scholar's gloss, and indeed has been suspected on such grounds (by Ruhnken), but we should see it rather in the context of a degree of continuity with the narrator earlier in this hymn.[147]

H. 2 maintains an ambiguity between a narrator resembling Callimachus and a chorus. This situation, which combines a choral paean with an apparently solo song, without making the relationship precise, recalls A.R. 2.701ff.:

> ἀμφὶ δὲ δαιομένοις εὐρὺν χορὸν ἐστήσαντο,
> καλὸν Ἰηπαιήον' Ἰηπαιήονα Φοῖβον
> μελπόμενοι· σὺν δέ σφιν ἐὺς πάις Οἰάγροιο
> Βιστονίῃ φόρμιγγι λιγείης ἦρχεν ἀοιδῆς·

Around the sacrifices they set up a wide space for dancing,
singing fair ie Paean, ie Paean, Phoebus. And with them the noble son of Oeagrus started up his clear song on his Bistonian lyre.

A singing and dancing chorus sings (μελπόμενοι) a paean, and with them (σὺν δέ σφιν) Orpheus begins a song on the lyre. Are the chorus merely chanting 'ie Paean', or is their contribution more genuinely poetic? Does Orpheus direct the chorus in its song? His song contains an aetion for the refrain (vv. 711–12 – the Corycian nymphs crying Ἰήιε, 'healer'), and one might describe it as a paean. This passage and the ambiguity over the speaker of *H.* 2.32ff. play with the different voices of choral lyric as understood in the Hellenistic period. Indeed the arguments reflected in the scholia over the speaker of certain passages in Pindar's epinicians, in particular *P.* 5.72ff., are key to understanding the ambiguity of the speaker in *H.* 2.32ff.[148]

Pythian 5 celebrates the Pythian chariot victory of Arcesilas IV, a Battiad king of Cyrene, in 462 BC. In common with *H.* 2, it is closely associated with the festival of the Carneia for Apollo (where it may have been performed), and pays particular attention to Apollo.[149] *H.* 2 echoes *P.* 5 extensively,[150] particularly in 32ff., where the speaker is ambiguous between narrator and chorus. At *P.* 5.60–9, for example, Apollo is praised as

[145] See Lapp 1965: 97 on *correctio* in Callimachus.
[146] Parenthesis is 'a regular feature of the Alexandrian poetic style' (Williams 1978: 46). Cf. Lapp 1965: 52–3.
[147] Cf. Schneider 1870: 10 *app.crit.*, Williams 1978: 46.
[148] See Depew 1993: 66, Hunter–Fuhrer 2002: 156. Cf. also Kofler 1996: 244–7 for the ambiguity about *H.* 2's genre, which is related to its deployment of voice and its adaptations of *P.* 5, and Rutherford 2001b: 128–30 on *H.* 2 and the paean.
[149] See in general on *Pythian* 5 and the Carneia Krummen 1990: 98–151.
[150] Cf. Smiley 1914: 54–9, Giannini 1990: 90, Kofler 1996.

ἀρχαγέτας or colony-founder (v. 60) and giver of good government (v. 67), as a healer (who gives βαρειᾶν νόσων | ἀκέσματ', 'remedies for grave diseases', vv. 63–4), as god of music (v. 65) and ruler over an oracle (vv. 68–9). *H.* 2.43–6, quoted above, echo this section: we are told that bards and song belong to Apollo (ἀοιδόν, v. 43, ἀοιδή, v. 44), as does prophecy (θριαὶ καὶ μάντιες, v. 45) and healing (ἰητροί, v. 46).[151] Apollo ἀρχαγέτας, first in Pindar, Callimachus delays until vv. 55ff.:

> Φοίβῳ δ' ἑσπόμενοι πόλιας διεμετρήσαντο
> ἄνθρωποι· Φοῖβος γὰρ ἀεὶ πολίεσσι φιληδεῖ
> κτιζομένῃσ', αὐτὸς δὲ θεμείλια Φοῖβος ὑφαίνει.
>
> Following Phoebus men measure out their cities, as Phoebus always takes pleasure in the founding of cities, and Phoebus himself weaves the groundwork.

In both Pindar (*P.* 5.80–93) and Callimachus *(H.* 2.73ff.) there follows a narrative of the foundation of Cyrene by Battus and Apollo's festival the Carneia. The most important resemblance as regards the voice in Callimachus is between *P.* 5.72ff. and *H.* 2.71ff. Both passages are in apostrophe to Apollo Carneius ('Ἄπολλον . . . | Καρνήϊ', *P.* 5.79–80; Καρνεῖε, *H.* 2.72), apparently at the Carneia (τεᾷ, Καρνήϊ', ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν, 'o Apollo Carneius, we revere at your feast', *P.* 5.79–80; ἰὴ ἰὴ Καρνεῖε πολύλλιτε, 'Hie hie Carneius of many prayers', *H.* 2.80). Both describe the foundation of Cyrene by Battus, called Ἀριστοτέλης (*P.* 5.87, *H.* 2.76), via Sparta (ἀπὸ Σπάρτας, *P.* 5.73; ἐκ . . . Σπάρτης, *H.* 2.74) and Thera (Θήρανδε, *P.* 5.75; ἐκ . . . Θήρης, *H.* 2.75).[152] In both Battus at Cyrene founds shrines (κτίσεν δ' ἄλσεα μείζονα θεῶν, 'he founded greater sanctuaries of the gods', *P.* 5.89; δεῖμε δέ τοι μάλα καλὸν ἀνάκτορον, 'he built you a very beautiful temple', *H.* 2.77) and institutes festivals (εὐθύτομόν τε κατέθηκεν Ἀπολλωνίαις | ἀλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς, 'he laid a straight, even [road] for mortal-protecting processions of Apollo', *P.* 5.90–1; ἐν δὲ πόληι | θῆκε τελεσφορίην ἐπετήσιον, 'in the city he founded a yearly rite', *H.* 2.77–8).[153] The Carneia abounds in sacrifices (πολύθυτον ἔρανον, 'the sacrifice-rich meal', *P.* 5.77, πολλοὶ . . . ταῦροι,[154] 'many bulls', *H.* 2.78–9). But the closest verbal parallel, and the most important in terms of the voice in *H.* 2, is between τὸ δ' ἐμὸν γαρύειν and ἐμοὶ πατέρες ('it is mine to declare', 'my forefathers', *P.* 5.72,

[151] See Smiley 1914: 55, Williams 1978: 45.
[152] See Fuhrer 1992: 40–2.
[153] Cf. D'Alessio 1996: I.88–9 nn. 26, 28.
[154] This also varies the ἱππόκροτον . . . ὁδόν, 'road sounding with horses' of *P.* 5.92–3.

76) in Pindar and ἐμοὶ πατρώιον οὕτω ('this is my ancestral custom') at *H.* 2.71 at the beginning of the respective passages.

Callimachus thus claims it is in the manner of his forefathers to call Apollo 'Carneius'. This comes after the explicit identification of the narrator as a Cyrenean in v. 65 (ἐμὴν πόλιν, 'my city', that of Battus), and his kings as Cyrenean (ἡμετέροις βασιλεῦσιν, 'our kings', v. 68), which itself marks the end of the descriptive, largely impersonal, ambiguously 'choral' vv. 32–64. This points us firmly towards the 'historical person ... of the poet'.[155] But Callimachus' claim recalls Pindar's own claim about his forefathers – apparently Aegidae who came from Sparta to Thera (ἵκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγείδαι | ἐμοὶ πατέρες, 'the Aegidae came to Thera, my forefathers', *P.* 5.75–6), and presumably thence to Cyrene. There has been much discussion about Pindar's claim – how could a Theban claim to be descended from Theran and Cyrenean Aegidae?[156] The scholia reflect what may well have been controversial in Callimachus' day:

> ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν Λιβύων ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ.
>
> This is spoken by the Libyan chorus or by the poet. (Σ ad *P.* 5.72/96a)[157]

The scholiast tackles the difficulty by invoking the possibility of a choral speaker (and some scholars have followed this suggestion).[158] This is highly significant. Williams, followed by Lefkowitz,[159] suggests Callimachus by the mention of 'the sons of Oedipus', i.e. those descended from Thebans, 'is probably alluding again to the controversial passage of Pindar, *Py.* 5.72–5 ... and accounting for the Theban connection with Thera which it seems to attest.' Callimachus not only does this, he also places in the 'hymn proper', with its ambiguous, perhaps choral, speaker, a passage which alludes to a Pindaric passage whose speaker was itself debated (poet or chorus?). Furthermore, the allusions come precisely when the Callimachean speaker appears to be most closely identified with the poet, and less with the chorus. Callimachus thus reproduces the broad Pindaric situation in the epinicians of choral form with personal voice.[160]

The *Hymn to Apollo* is thus intimately related to *Pythian* 5. And there is a further relationship which the passages in question suggest. If Pindar is the

[155] See Calame 1993: 44–5, who wonders if Callimachus is exploiting his nationality and his father's *name* to construct a Battiad ancestry and a close association with Apollo.
[156] See p. 54 n. 90 above. [157] Drachmann 1903–27: II.183. [158] E.g. Krummen 1990: 136–41.
[159] Williams 1978: 68–9, Lefkowitz 1991: 178–9. [160] See Kofler 1996: 242–4.

speaker in *P.* 5.72ff., and claiming descent from the Theban Aegidae who assisted in the establishment of the Dorians in Amyclae near Sparta (cf. *I.* 7.12–15), Aegidae who were subsequently involved in the foundation of Thera and Cyrene, or at least Callimachus understood Pindar as making such a claim, and we take Callimachus' claim ἐμοὶ πατρώιον οὕτω ('this is my ancestral custom') in its strongest sense as referring to Callimachus being a Battiad,[161] Callimachus in effect suggests a blood relationship with both the founder of Cyrene and his poetic model.[162] The verbal echo points us to a claim about genealogy to stand alongside the literary allusion.

Vv. 65–83 of the *Hymn to Apollo* confirm, some way into the poem, the setting of the hymn as the Carneia at Cyrene.[163] They also represent a greater grounding of the narrator on the biography of Callimachus as Cyrenean and Battiad than in the other *Hymns*. The figure of the narrator is kept before the audience by vv. 97–104, which give an aetiology for the cry ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῆον ('hie, hie Paean') in apostrophe to Apollo (second-person pronouns, adjectives or verbs in vv. 99, 100, 101 (twice), 103, 104), which succeeds the address to Apollo Carneius in vv. 69–84.

Given the prominence of the narrator in this hymn, and his being grounded upon the biography of the historical Callimachus, it is necessary to tackle the question of the views on poetry many have deduced from the final vv. 105–13. Do they form a poetic programme of the historical Callimachus?

ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ᾽ οὔατα λάθριος εἶπεν·
'οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ᾽ ὅσα πόντος ἀείδει.'
τὸν Φθόνον ὠπόλλων ποδί τ᾽ ἤλασεν ὥδέ τ᾽ ἔειπεν·
''Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ
λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ᾽ ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἕλκει.
Δηοῖ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι Μέλισσαι,
ἀλλ᾽ ἥτις καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει
πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβὰς ἄκρον ἄωτον.'
χαῖρε ἄναξ· ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἵν᾽ ὁ Φθόνος, ἔνθα νέοιτο.

Phthonos [Envy] said in secret in Apollo's ear:
'I don't like the singer who does not sing as much as the sea.'
Apollo struck Phthonos with his foot and said:
'The Assyrian river's stream is great, but it drags along
much detritus from the earth and much rubbish in its water.

[161] So Williams 1978: 67 following Herter, *RE* suppl.V.439. Cf. Call. *Epigr.* 35.1: 'You are walking past the tomb of the son of Battus', and also Kofler 1996: 239.
[162] See Kofler 1996: 238–9 on Callimachus' claim to be Pindar's relative as well as his 'fellow citizen'.
[163] See D'Alessio 1996: I.80 n. 2.

> To Demeter the Bees do not bring water from every source of water,
> but from the finest, the small stream from a holy spring which bubbles
> up pure and undefiled.' Hail lord, and may Blame go where Phthonos lives.
>
> (vv. 105–13)

This is 'possibly the most controversial passage in the extant works of Callimachus',[164] and has proved particularly puzzling and open to interpretation because on the surface these lines do not seem closely connected to the preceding body of the hymn.[165] Nevertheless, it is important to consider this passage in its context in the hymn,[166] rather than as a straightforward statement of literary-critical principles.[167] If we look closely at the text, I do not think that it is possible to discern the poetological three-term comparison between sea, river and spring standing for Homer, his incompetent imitators and Callimachus' own poetry, implying approval of sea and spring but not river, which some scholars suggest.[168] This is Asper's 'Temachos-schema': he sees *H.* 2.105–12 as another example of the idea of Homer as the source from which poets take something exemplified by Aeschylus' description of his tragedies as τεμάχη ('slices') from Homer at Athenaeus 8.39.347e,[169] and discerns the same three-term comparison of Homer–imitators–good poet in Theoc. *Idyll* 7.45–8 and the *Aetia* prologue.[170] The reason for thinking the sea represents Homer in *H.* 2 is the common ancient comparison between Homer and the sea as the 'ultimate source'.[171]

But there is no indication in the *Hymn to Apollo* that the sea is the source for the spring or the river: there is no 'slice' or 'splinter' conception in *H.* 2.105–12. Furthermore, the sea is hardly stressed as a member of a triad in these lines – the structure of the passage suggests that, at best, Apollo rejects

[164] Williams 1978: 86.

[165] See Bundy 1972: 42 with notes. But the discontinuity is only apparent – 'for all its segregation, we must recognize that the section is an integral part of the poem, making an issue of the hymn's diminutiveness and belligerently framing the terms in which that is to be construed' (Haslam 1993: 117). Cf. also Poliakoff 1980: 45 n. 6 for structural parallels through the hymn, Bassi 1989 for its themes of exclusiveness and combativeness and Calame 1993: 51 for its 'musical isotopy'. For the affinities of the end of *H.* 2 with an epiphany see Hunter–Fuhrer 2002: 151–4. See, however, Vestrheim 2002: 177.

[166] As, e.g., Bundy 1972, Köhnken 1981, Cameron 1995: 403–9.

[167] As, e.g., McKay 1962a: 15, Williams 1978: 85–9, Meillier 1979: 91–5.

[168] See Williams 1978: 85–9 for the most influential statement of this position. He also details earlier views.

[169] See Asper 1997: 120–5.

[170] Asper 1997: 191–8.

[171] Cf. D.H. *Comp.* 24, Quintilian 10.1.46, *Coll.Alex.* 187–8, see further the Appendix to Williams 1978. All of the passages which Williams cites are later than Callimachus, and they all make an explicit comparison between Homer and the sea. Williams is contending, however, as Cameron 1995: 404 notes, that the sea can stand metaphorically for Homer.

the sea as irrelevant,[172] making no reference to it and picking up Phthonos' mention of its size in the rejected river.[173] The sea can also have negative connotations,[174] even in poetological contexts:

μὴ νῦν νέκτα̣[ρ.....]ναϲ ἐμᾶϲ
διψῶντ' α[.....] π̣αρ' ἁλμυρόν
οἴχεϲθον·

Do not, you two, thirsting for nectar . . . of mine, go to the salty . . .
(Pi. fr. 94b.76–8 S.–M.)[175]

This passage was evidently a model for Callimachus in *H.* 2: Pindar tells his addressees not to go in search of the salty water of other singers after the nectar of his partheneion.[176] This too emphasises what is clear from the Callimachean passage itself – the main comparison is between the river and the spring, with the sea strongly associated with the former. In another important model for the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*, there is another clear antithesis:

ἔϲτε μὲν αὐτὸϲ ἔπινον ἀπὸ κρήνηϲ μελανύδρου,
ἡδύ τί μοι ἐδόκει καὶ καλὸν ἦμεν ὕδωρ·
νῦν δ' ἤδη τεθόλωται, ὕδωρ δ' ἀναμίϲγεται ὕδει·
ἄλληϲ δὴ κρήνηϲ πίομαι ἢ ποταμοῦ.

When I drank alone from the black-watered spring,
sweet it seemed to me and fine water.
But now it is muddied, and water mixes with water,
from another spring I'll drink, rather than a river. (Thgn. 959–62)

A spring (κρήνη) becomes muddied, leading the speaker to express a wish to drink from another spring, rather than the river (ποταμόϲ) which the previous spring has become. The water of the pure spring is καλὸν . . . ὕδωρ ('fine water'), in contrast to the muddy ποταμόϲ, precisely the same contrast as the principal contrast in *H.* 2.105ff.

The end of the *Hymn to Apollo* has a specific purpose within the hymn, and refers, primarily at least, to its own virtues. It functions as a break-off, with close hymnic and lyric parallels. The break-off at the end of the hymn

[172] Both Williams and Asper assume Apollo's tacit approval of the sea, agreeing to this extent with Phthonos, but as Cameron 1995: 404 points out, Apollo kicks Phthonos away (v. 107).
[173] Cameron 1995: 406.
[174] See Poliakoff 1980: 43–5, who cites *Iamb.* 2.12–13, Aeschylus *Ch.* 585–7 and Propertius 3.3.15–16, 21–5: the sea can contain bombastic tragedians, monsters, and embody danger. Erbse 1955: 424 had, on the other hand, suggested the fundamental purity of the sea, an idea which Asper and Williams take up.
[175] Translation from Race 1997: II.329. [176] See Poliakoff 1980: 43.

apologises for the brevity of the song, using *phthonos* ('envy') to restate the poem's worth at its end, while portraying the poet as under attack from critics. All of this is familiar from lyric.[177] For the apology for brevity or incompleteness Bundy compares Pindar *O.* 13.42ff. ('as for your many victories, I would not know how to count the pebbles of the sea') and *N.* 4.69–72 ('I cannot recount the whole story of the children of Aeacus').[178] We also find break-off formulas at the end of songs at B. 10.51ff. and Pindar *O.* 2.95ff., while the worth of a song is restated at its end in Pindar *O.* 1.115b-16 (Pindar foremost in σοφίᾳ, 'poetry/wisdom'), *O.* 10.97–9 (Pindar has drenched the Locrians with honey) and *P.* 4.298–9 (Damophilus will testify to Pindar's παγὰν ἀμβροσίων ἐπέων, 'spring of immortal verses').[179] *Phthonos* appears at the end of poems at Pindar *P.* 7.19, *P.* 11.54, B. 5.188.[180] But the closest parallel for the end of *H.* 2 is the end of *Olympian* 2,[181] where in vv. 86–8 Pindar presents himself as under attack, like an eagle assailed by chattering crows, while the very final lines excuse the brevity of the ode, pointedly out of a desire to avoid κόρος ('tedium'), and so bring it to a close:

> ἀλλ᾽ αἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος
> οὐ δίκᾳ συναντόμενος, ἀλλὰ μάργων ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρῶν,
> τὸ λαλαγῆσθαι θέλων κρυφόν τε θέμεν ἐσλῶν καλοῖς
> ἔργοις· ἐπεὶ ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφευγεν,
> καὶ κεῖνος ὅσα χάρματ᾽ ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν,
> τίς ἂν φράσαι δύναιτο;
>
> But tedium soon follows praise, and comes without justice, but
> through greedy men it is keen to place prattling as a block for fine deeds
> of good men. Grains of sand defy numbering, and who could proclaim
> all the delights that man has made for others? (*O.* 2.95–100)

Callimachus' apology for the brevity of *H.* 2 gains point from vv. 30–1, which asserted the chorus would not sing ἐφ᾽ ἓν μόνον ἦμαρ ('for just one day', v. 30), described Apollo as εὔυμνος ('easily sung', v. 31), and implied the ease of singing extensively about Apollo – τίς ἂν οὐ ῥέα Φοῖβον ἀείδοι; ('who could not easily sing of Phoebus?', v. 31).[182] The 546 lines of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* also stand behind the apology.[183] But as

[177] Cf. D'Alessio 1996: I.94 n. 36. [178] Bundy 1972: 88–92. Cf. also *I.* 6.53–6.
[179] Cf. also *N.* 8.46ff. and B. 3.95–8.
[180] Cf. also B. 10.46–7: τὸ μὲν κάλλιστον, ἐσθλόν | ἄνδρα πολλῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων πολυζήλωτον εἶμεν ('the finest thing is to be a good man much envied by many men'). This makes explicit the thought behind the portrayal of Phthonos in *H.* 2.
[181] See Bundy 1972: 88. [182] Cf. Cameron 1995: 406. [183] See Cameron 1995: 406.

Köhnken notes, *phthonos* ('envy'), μῶμος ('blame') and the related κόρος ('tedium'), as in *O.* 2, usually prompt the cessation of the song – the poet ends his poem to avoid *phthonos*. In *H.* 2 it is Phthonos, in a neat Callimachean reversal, who wants the song to go on forever.[184]

As for the 'poet under attack', Callimachus turns the Pindaric break-off into a drama.[185] Envy or *phthonos* is no longer merely the feeling which a song may produce in the audience, but personified as Phthonos (v. 105), conversing with Apollo and expressing his reaction to the song within the song itself (οὐκ ἄγαμαι . . ., 'I don't like', *H.* 2.106). This forms an example of the 'concretisation' of lyric themes and *topoi* in Hellenistic poetry.[186] The scene of criticism moves from a suggested comparison of poet and critics to an eagle and crows (*O.* 2.87–8) to a more fully developed scene presenting a personification of envy and a dialogue with Apollo which explicitly refers to the poet (τὸν ἀοιδόν, *H.* 2.106). The dramatic technique and a greater concreteness we also find in the *Aetia* prologue. This process confirms that the situations of *H.* 2.105–12 and the *Aetia* prologue are fictional,[187] and probably do not record historical reactions to the respective poems.[188]

In more general terms, of course, this passage (as well as its function as a break-off) forms part of a stress in several Callimachean poetological statements on the desirability of brevity and exclusiveness,[189] and as such stands as a statement of Callimachus' poetics.[190] But we should not construct from this or other Callimachean passages a more general poetic manifesto, which implies automatic disapproval of, for example, longer poems or which Callimachus must 'break' if he is to write such a poem. We cannot deduce Callimachus' attitudes to other poets' individual poems from his general poetological statements. The particular poetological statement suits the context in which it appears, even if it shares important similarities with qualities privileged elsewhere in Callimachus.[191]

[184] Cf. Köhnken 1981: 421. [185] See Bundy 1972: 87.
[186] Cf. Lefkowitz 1991: 158 on Call. fr. 114.9 Pf. concretising *O.* 14.10, and p. 313 below.
[187] Cf. Lefkowitz 1980b: 8. [188] Cf. Schmitz 1999: 153–6, and pp. 178–82 below.
[189] See, e.g., Bassi 1989, Asper 1997: 109–20. Judging poems by length is disparaged in the *Aetia* prologue (vv. 17–18), where Callimachus declares ἔλλετε Βασκανίης ὀλοὸν γένος ('Begone, Jealousy's deadly race'), while exclusivity is privileged, e.g., at *Epigr.* 28.4 Pf. σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια ('I hate all common things'). Again, of course, these statements serve a specific function in context – the *Aetia* prologue principally emphasises the virtues of the *Aetia* itself. Cf. Schmitz 1999 and pp. 178–82 below on the *Aetia* prologue, and Cameron 1995: 387–99 for objections to poetological readings of *Epigr.* 28 Pf.
[190] See D'Alessio 1996: I.94 n. 36. [191] See further on these parallels Bassi 1989.

Hymn *3*

After one hymn with an oblique setting and another which is explicitly mimetic, the *Hymn to Artemis* has no trace of mimesis.[192] In other ways too this hymn seems more like a *Homeric Hymn* – three times as long as the *Hymn to Zeus*, naming the god with the first word,[193] and seemingly sung by a conventional *aoidos*:

> Ἄρτεμιν (οὐ γὰρ ἐλαφρὸν ἀειδόντεσσι λαθέσθαι)
> ὑμνέομεν
>
> Artemis (because it is no small thing for those singing to forget her)
> we sing. (vv. 1–2)

'Not forgetting Artemis' bears a general resemblance to expansions of the *Homeric Hymns*' μνήσομαι ('I will remember') such as οὐδὲ λάθωμαι ('nor shall I forget', *h.Ap.* 1),[194] and the verb ὑμνεῖν ('to hymn/to sing') appears at *h.Hom.* 4.1, 9.1, 14.2, 31.1. But amid similarity, difference – ὑμνεῖν in the first line in the *Homeric Hymns* is always what the Muses are requested to do (though the narrator is subject of the future ὑμνήσω ('I will sing'), *h.Ap.* 19, 207). Here, with the singer as subject, ὑμνέομεν ('we sing') resembles rather μνήσομαι ('I will remember', e.g. *h.Ap.* 1) or ᾄσομαι ('I will sing', *h.Hom.* 6.2) or ἄρχομ᾽ ἀείδειν ('I begin to sing', e.g. *h.Cer.* 1). The parenthesis in v. 1 is also unusual, immediately drawing attention to the narrator, almost before the song itself has begun (rather odd after just *one* word, as Bornmann sees).[195]

The plural verb recalls the end of *h.Bacch.* 17–18 (σ᾽ ἀοιδοὶ | ᾄδομεν ἀρχόμενοι, 'we singers sing of you beginning'). The ends of *Homeric Hymns* are further picked up by ἄρχμενοι ὡς ('beginning with how') in *H.* 3.4, which recalls (in addition to *h.Bacch.* 17–18) ἀρξάμενος ('having begun') at *h.Hom.* 5.293, 9.9, 18.11, 31.18. It also recalls the beginnings of certain Hellenistic narratives: ἄρχμενος ὡς ('beginning with how', Call. frr. 7.25, 75.56 Pf.); ἀρχόμενος σέο ('beginning with you', A.R. 1.1). This appears to suggest an ordered *ab initio* narrative, though this is not what we get.[196] It also establishes a main concern of the hymn – where to begin and end, and how long to go on. The opening lines of the hymn thus set

[192] Cf. Harder 1992: 387. [193] Cf. n. 91 above, Bornmann 1968: 4.

[194] See further Bornmann 1968: 4. But it also functions within the poetry book of *Hymns* to make us look back to the preceding hymn – has something been forgotten (Artemis?)? Cf. Hunter–Fuhrer 2002: 162–3, pp. 147–50 below on the rivalry developed in the *Hymns* between Artemis and Apollo, and Fain 2004.

[195] Bornmann 1968: 4. [196] So Bornmann 1968: 6.

the pattern for its voice – aspects of the largely impersonal narration of an *aoidos* as in Homer and the *Homeric Hymns* set against intrusions such as the parenthesis of the first line.

But then we hear little from the narrator himself – v. 5 introduces a long speech of Artemis (vv. 6–25) where she requests various characteristics (eternal virginity, many names, bow and arrows, cult-names, a retinue etc.) from Zeus, which usurps the normal hymnal narratorial account of divine attributes and achievements (or *aretai*),[197] as at *h.Merc.* 13ff., for example. For Artemis' request of virginity etc. there is a lyric model – Sappho fr. 44A V.:[198]

κεφά]λαν, ἄϊ πάρθενος ἔσσομαι
]ῳν ὀρέων κορύφᾳ̣ι̣σ' ἔπι
]δ̣ε νεῦσον ἔμαν χάριν.

[head], I will always be a virgin
. . . on the peaks of the [ ] mountains
. . . grant [these things] for me. (vv. 5–7)

But in Sappho this does not seem to replace the hymnal *aretai*, nor is Artemis as explicitly a little girl (though cf. πάρθενος, v. 5) as she is in *H.* 3 (παῖς ἔτι κουρίζουσα, 'still a girl', v. 5), reeling off a series of insistent requests – δός μοι (v. 6), δός (v. 8), δὸς δέ μοι (vv. 13, 15, 18) – 'gimme'.[199] Before Zeus' reply in vv. 30–8, which continues the domestic tone (Hera's anger (vv. 29–31) transferred into 'bourgeois terms'),[200] the narrator speaks again. In vv. 26–9 he reveals himself as privy even to Artemis' desire to touch her father's beard (vv. 26–7) and her inability to do so (v. 27).

The knowledge displayed here is greater than that in the other *Hymns*.[201] In *H.* 3 this is less problematic as the narrator is more like the conventional *aoidos* of epic, unfixed in space and time (contrast the celebrant of *H.* 2, 5 and 6), and portrayed as a mouthpiece of the goddess, to whom he addresses questions:

τίνα δ' ἔξοχα νυμφέων
φίλαο, καὶ ποίας ἡρωίδας ἔσχες ἑταίρας;
εἰπέ, θεή, σὺ μὲν ἄμμιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἑτέροισιν ἀείσω.

Which nymph
do you love most, and which heroines do you have as companions?
You tell me, goddess, and I will sing it to others. (vv. 184–6)

[197] See Bornmann 1968: xxviii, Haslam 1993: 112. [198] See in general Bonanno 1995b.
[199] Cf. Haslam 1993: 111. [200] Bornmann 1968: xxviii. [201] See Harder 1992: 393.

Such first-person statements (also at vv. 136, 137, 175, 222 – see below) are one way in which the narrator intrudes on his narrative in this hymn,[202] here compounded by the narrator operating explicitly as the spokesman of the goddess. This intrusion is particularly prominent from v. 72 onwards, where the narrator first addresses Artemis. This apostrophe is maintained almost throughout the rest of the hymn,[203] and encompasses questions to Artemis, at vv. 113, 116 and 119, about various formative events in her childhood. Indeed the hymn takes on an affectionate tone, as if prompted by Artemis as a charming infant, with the switch to apostrophe in vv. 72ff.:[204]

> κοῦρα, σὺ δὲ προτέρω περ, ἔτι τριέτηρος ἐοῦσα, . . .
> Βρόντεώ σε στιβαροῖσιν ἐφεσσαμένου γονάτεσσι,
> στήθεος ἐκ μεγάλου λασίης ἐδράξαο χαίτης
>
> Girl, you earlier still, just three years old, . . .
> when Brontes placed you on his strong knees,
> you grabbed the shaggy hair from his great chest. (vv. 72, 75–6)

The narrator addresses Artemis as if she was still a young girl (κοῦρα, 'girl', contrast πότνια, 'queen', vv. 136, 210, 225, 259), and tells her, as a proud parent might, that even at three years old she was not only not scared of one of the Cyclopes who scare goddesses 'who are no longer little' (v. 64), but prodigiously ripped out some of his hair. The tone continues as the narrator emphatically tells Artemis that she was μάλα θαρσαλέη ('very bold', v. 80) when she asked the Cyclopes for her weapons. This too is a domestication of a hymnal feature – the second-person address[205] – one more common in lyric than Homeric hymns (except for the anomalous *h.Ap.*).[206]

Explanatory parentheses and indications of time also draw attention to the narrator:

> τοὺς μὲν ἔτετμε
> νήσῳ ἐνὶ Λιπάρῃ (Λιπάρη νέον, ἀλλὰ τότ' ἔσκεν
> οὔνομά οἱ Μελιγουνίς)
>
> Them [the Cyclopes] she found
> on the island of Lipara (later Lipara, but then it was
> called Meligounis); (vv. 46–8)

[202] See in general on this Harder 1992: 392 n. 31.

[203] E.g. vocatives/nominatives for vocatives at: vv. 72, 86, 110, 119, 136, 137, 152, 173, 186, 204, 210, 225, 228, 240, 259, 268; second-person verbs: vv. 76, 77, 86, 87, 99, 103, 111, 112, 116, 117, 119, 120, 122, 124, 129, 141, 144, 148, 168, 169, 174, 185, 189, 206, 210, 215, 217, 230, 234, 236.

[204] See Haslam 1993: 112 n. 3.

[205] See, however, Bornmann 1968: xx.

[206] Vestrheim 2000: 72 suggests that the second person at vv. 72ff. leads us to expect that the hymn will end here, as the second person in the *Homeric Hymns* is used mostly in their closing invocations. See Vestrheim 2000: 72–4 and pp. 143–6 below for the 'teasing' nature of *H.* 3 and its false ends.

τὸ δ᾽ ἄτριχον εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν
μεσσάτιον στέρνοιο μένει μέρος

Without hair still to this day
remains the middle part of his chest. (vv. 77–8)

Both the aside and the aetion are, strictly speaking, tangential to the narrative. This is also the case where the narrator parenthetically adds μετὰ καὶ κύνες ἐσσεύοντο ('and also there rushed your dogs') in v. 98 to a mention of Artemis' departure, having spent vv. 89–97 on a catalogue and praise of these dogs. Similarly superfluous is καὶ γὰρ Πιτάνη σέθεν ('as Pitane is yours', v. 172) which the narrator adds to a mention of nymphs dancing round Artemis at Pitane.[207] *H.* 3 has more parentheses than any other Callimachean hymn.[208]

This narratorial involvement is unusual in the *Homeric Hymns*, and more characteristic of Archaic non-epic poetry such as Pindar's epinicians or the *Works and Days*.[209] It is also apparent when the narrator goes further than the formalised request for favour or success at the end of many *Homeric Hymns* (cf. *h.Hom.* 1.17ff., 2.490ff., 6.18ff., 11.5, 15.9 etc.) in expressing a personal concern, with first-person forms, about his cattle when Artemis dances with her nymphs (so delaying the spectating Helios, lengthening the day):[210]

μὴ νειὸν τημοῦτος ἐμαὶ βόες εἵνεκα μισθοῦ
τετράγυον τέμνοιεν ὑπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίῳ ἀροτῆρι·
ἦ γάρ κεν γυιαί τε καὶ αὐχένα κεκμηῖαι
κόπρον ἔπι προγένοιντο

Then may my cattle not plough for pay a fallow field
of four measures under a strange ploughman,
because surely lame and with necks exhausted would they reach
the byre. (vv. 175–8)

Bornmann does not take this as quasi-biography, implying that the narrator owned cattle, but as a general statement (with a variety of the general first person) of what would happen to them if ploughing on such a long day.[211] In any case, it hardly points us towards the *author*, though, if quasi-biographical, this would fix the *aoidos* more than any other passage of the

[207] Cf. Ovid *Met.* 1.597, 'ne fuge me –' *fugiebat enim* ('"Don't run away. . .", *for she was running away*') for a similar device.
[208] See Bornmann 1968: l, Lapp 1965: 53 with list. [209] Cf. pp. 96–9 above.
[210] For a poetological interpretation of this passage (criticised at Asper 1997: 227–9) see Bing 1988: 84–7.
[211] See Bornmann 1968: 83–4.

hymn, and mark another difference from Homer and the *Homeric Hymns*, which largely avoid quasi-biography,[212] in contrast to Hesiod and Archaic lyric, elegy and *iambos*.[213]

The wish concerning the narrator's friends and himself at vv. 136ff., again expressed with the first person, also echoes Hesiod:

> πότνια, τῶν εἴη μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλος ὅστις ἀληθής,
> εἴην δ᾽ αὐτός, ἄνασσα, μέλοι δέ μοι αἰὲν ἀοιδή·
>
> Mistress, may any true friend of mine be one of them,
> and may I myself, queen, and may song be dear to me always.

Compare the fervent wish at *Op.* 270–1, again with first persons:

> νῦν δὴ ἐγὼ μήτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιος
> εἴην μήτ᾽ ἐμὸς υἱός·
>
> In that case may neither I myself be one of the just
> nor my son.

We also find moralising in the emphatic line-beginning judging Λύγδαμις ὑβριστής ('violent Lygdamis', v. 252), and the exclamation about him:[214]

> ἆ δειλὸς βασιλέων, ὅσον ἤλιτεν
>
> Ah wretched king, how he transgressed. (v. 255)

In similarly un-Homeric fashion the narrator is prepared to use emotional vocabulary such as μάλα ('very', e.g. vv. 64, 80), ἦ ('surely', e.g. v. 177), οὐ νέμεσις ('no shame', v. 64) and σχέτλιοι ('wretches', v. 124), passing comment on the inhabitants of unjust cities, which the narrators in Homer and the *Homeric Hymns* (to a lesser extent) generally avoid.[215] Perhaps most striking of all the indications of changes in the hymnal voice from the *Homeric Hymns* is the comment at vv. 221ff.:

> οὐδὲ μὲν Ὑλαῖόν τε καὶ ἄφρονα Ῥοῖκον ἔολπα
> οὐδέ περ ἐχθαίροντας ἐν Ἄϊδι μωμήσασθαι
> τοξότιν·
>
> I don't think Hylaeus and foolish Rhoecus, though
> they hate her, find fault in Hades with her as an archer.

This is reminiscent (note ἔολπα ~ ἔλπομαι) of the Pindaric narrator's reaction to myths such as that of Odysseus, as at *N.* 7.20–1, though there Pindar, in contrast to Callimachus, registers disagreement:

[212] Cf. pp. 46–7 above. [213] Cf. pp. 48–55 above.
[214] Cf. above on *H.* 2.*init.* for exclamations. [215] Cf. pp. 91–4 above.

ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον᾽ ἔλπομαι
λόγον Ὀδυσσέος ἢ πάθαν διὰ τὸν ἁδυεπῆ γενέσθ᾽ Ὅμηρον·

I think greater is
the legend of Odysseus than his suffering through sweet-speaking Homer.

Pindar uses such musings to characterise himself as truthful in contrast to Homer, and to portray himself as pious, therefore sincere.[216] The narrator of *H*. 3 is similarly depicted by vv. 221ff. But despite the narratorial visibility which Callimachus thus achieves, the narrator is not very closely tied to facts about Callimachus' biography (e.g. being Cyrenean), or to the hymn's setting, in contrast to the other hymns. The only aspect which might point us in such a direction is the scholarship on display in *H*. 3, such as some of the explanatory parentheses discussed above.

Alongside these we should place the aetiologies of Brontes' bald patch (vv. 77–9, displaying extensive knowledge about divine physiology), the avoidance of myrtle in the rites of Britomartis on Crete (vv. 201ff.), the invention of the pipe (vv. 244–5, with the intrusive temporal reference οὐ γάρ πω ('for not yet'), v. 244), the etymologies in vv. 197ff. (Cretan Dictyna and Dictaeon), the 'they say' statement, showing a knowledge of tradition, about Artemis' love for Anticleia (φασι, v. 210)[217] and the agricultural aside on the suitability of Stymphaean cattle (vv. 178–80). The main effect of such learning is not to remind the audience or reader of Callimachus, but to characterise the narrator as verbose (most un-Callimachean).[218] He has time to inform us of the best ploughing cattle (in vv. 178–80), to repeat Pitane superfluously in v. 172, to tell us the old name of Lipare (vv. 47–8) etc. We would not feel such asides so strongly were it not for the wider concern in the hymn for ending, or rather *not* ending.[219] After the first two short hymns in the collection, when the reader meets vv. 136–7 (quoted above), an address to Artemis, together with a wish

[216] Cf. pp. 97–9 above.

[217] Rare in the *Homeric Hymns* – only at *h.Merc*. 471, *h.Ap*. 67, used by characters, and by the narrator only at *h.Bacch*. 2 of an alternative birthplace of Dionysus. Cf. also λέγουσι ('they say') in the same context at *h.Bacch*. 5.

[218] Cf. Bornmann 1968: lii on vv. 198ff.

[219] See Haslam 1993: 114, Bing–Uhrmeister 1994: 29–30, Fain 2004. Bing–Uhrmeister and Fain connect this not ending with engagement with the problematic *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, which also seems to 'carry on' when about to finish (vv. 177–8). There is a further parallel in lyric, e.g. Pindaric, experiments with 'false closure', e.g. in *P*. 1 at the end of the fourth triad or *N*. 7 and the end of the third, where the odes could end. Cf. Rutherford 1997: 58–61 and Carey 2001: 12 on the first audience of a Pindaric ode not knowing when it will end. Perhaps Callimachus is imitating effects which would be particularly striking when *H*. 3 was recited. But an important difference is that Pindar is not, unlike Callimachus, ironising his narrator through these false ends.

for favour to the narrator and his friend, and an assertion that song will be his concern forever, the end seems nigh. But then the narrator specifies what will be in the song (τῇ ἔνι μὲν ('in it', v. 138), ἐν δὲ ('in there', vv. 138, 139, 140)) – the marriage of Leto, Artemis' name, Apollo, Artemis' labours, her hounds, bow and chariots. This might simply be an expanded coda, and the hymn about to end.[220] But then, with the verbal sleight of hand of ἔνθα ('there', v. 142), we are at the house of Zeus, and the hymn continues.[221]

Again at vv. 225ff. we seem to have reached the end, with vocatives piling up and a farewell to the goddess:[222]

> πότνια πουλυμέλαθρε, πολύπτολι, χαῖρε Χιτώνη
> Μιλήτῳ ἐπίδημε·
>
> Many-shrined queen, many-citied, hail Chitone
> dweller at Miletus.

Again the reader is disappointed – there are still over forty lines to come. Nor are these the only false endings. The address to Artemis as Ἄρτεμι Παρθενίη Τιτυοκτόνε ('Maiden Artemis, Slayer of Tityus') at vv. 110ff., which describes the golden equipment of the goddess, *sounds* like the end of the account of Artemis hunting, but then a series of questions (vv. 113ff.) continues the narrative.[223] Another series of questions at vv. 183ff. has the tone of a new beginning, a continuation: τίς δέ νύ τοι . . ., 'which *now*. . .'.

But this verbosity is obviously affected. There are also conspicuous shows of brevity,[224] recalling the pseudo-spontaneity of lyric:

> ἔννεπες· οἱ δ᾽ ἐτέλεσσαν· ἄφαρ δ᾽ ὡπλίσσαο
>
> You spoke, they did your bidding, and straightaway you armed yourself.
> (v. 86)

Thus the narrator skips over the construction and description of Artemis' bow, arrows and quiver. Similar is the summary account of the slaying of the serpent and the obtaining of the Golden Fleece at *P.* 4.249–50. But unlike in Pindar, where such unusual narrative emphasis serves to highlight what is important in a particular myth (i.e. the Euphemid and Argonautic heritage of Arcesilas), here the reader's expectations of a usual component of an epic arming scene are confounded.[225] As if to advertise the arbitrary brevity, there follows a long catalogue of Artemis' dogs in vv. 90–7, which

[220] Cf. Bornmann 1968: xxxi–ii. [221] See Haslam 1993: 114.
[222] See, e.g., Haslam 1993: 114. [223] See Haslam 1993: 114.
[224] Note also Artemis' compact abstracts in vv. 6–7 with Bornmann 1968: xxviii.
[225] See Bornmann 1968: xviii.

itself sets the reader up for a surprise – Artemis has no need of her dogs to capture the deer (v. 106).[226]

This affected prolixity is related to the narrator's pseudo-spontaneity. The many questions the narrator asks Artemis, particularly those at vv. 183ff. where he portrays himself as awaiting Artemis' answers, present his song as an ongoing composition. This pseudo-spontaneity is particularly clear when the narrator corrects himself:

> ὅπλα μὲν Ἑρμείης Ἀκακήσιος, αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων
> θηρίον ὅττι φέρῃσθα· πάροιθέ γε, πρίν περ ἱκέσθαι
> καρτερὸν Ἀλκεΐδην·
>
> Your arms Hermes Acacesios [takes], but Apollo
> takes whatever beast you bring – at least he used to, before
> mighty Alcides came. (vv. 143–5)

This is a pose – the narrator has plenty to say in the following lines about Heracles and his appetite for Artemis' animals (vv. 156–7). Similarly the hounds, bow and chariot named in vv. 140ff. in the false ending set us up for the whole tale of Artemis and the receipt of her prey – the narrator is not really extemporising. Neither, of course, were the pseudo-spontaneous narrators in Pindar or Bacchylides. But there is an important difference. In Archaic epinicians the pose of pseudo-spontaneity suggests narratorial sincerity, and allows control of the epinician's structure of the ode, by emphasising important narrative elements, and omitting the irrelevant. In the *Hymn to Artemis* the purpose appears to be the depiction of the narrator himself as one who does not know when to stop. As Bornmann notes, the expanded coda recommending not to anger Artemis is a new expedient for squeezing in as many myths as possible.[227] Even at the very end, the narrator wants to get in as much as he can:

> πότνια Μουνιχίη λιμενοσκόπε, χαῖρε Φεραίη.
> μή τις ἀτιμήσῃ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ Οἰνεῖ
> βωμὸν ἀτιμάσσαντι καλοὶ πόλιν ἦλθον ἀγῶνες·
> μηδ᾽ ἐλαφηβολίην μηδ᾽ εὐστοχίην ἐριδαίνειν·
> οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀτρεΐδης ὀλίγῳ ἐπὶ κόμπασε μισθῷ·
> μηδέ τινα μνᾶσθαι τὴν παρθένον· οὐδὲ γὰρ Ὦτος,
> οὐδὲ μὲν Ὠαρίων ἀγαθὸν γάμον ἐμνήστευσαν·
> μηδὲ χορὸν φεύγειν ἐνιαύσιον· οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἵππῳ
> ἀκλαυτὶ περὶ βωμὸν ἀπείπατο κυκλώσασθαι·
> χαῖρε μέγα, κρείουσα, καὶ εὐάντησον ἀοιδῇ·

[226] See Haslam 1993: 113. [227] Bornmann 1968: xxxv.

> Queen, Munichia, harbour-watcher, hail Pheraea.
> Let no one dishonour Artemis – no noble contests
> came to Oeneus' city when he dishonoured Artemis' altar.
> Do not compete with her in shooting stags or archery –
> it was not for a small price that the son of Atreus boasted.
> Nor should anyone be a suitor of the virgin – neither Otus
> nor Orion were suitors for a good marriage.
> Do not avoid the annual dance – it was not without tears
> that Hippo refused to circle round the altar.
> Greatly hail, queen, and graciously meet my song. (vv. 259–68)

An ending, but one that sounds like a beginning. The catalogue of myths relating to Artemis resembles the priamels which often begin poems or hymns, lyric and Homeric, where the narrator selects the theme of song from one of many, e.g. the catalogue of Theban glories enumerated in Pindar *I.* 7.*init.*, the opening of Pindar's *Hymn to Zeus* (fr. 29 S.–M.), again with a Theban list, or the catalogue of Apollo's love at *h.Ap.* 207ff. (before the narrative of the Pythian hymn). We should consider the Callimachean reversal in the context of the collection of *Hymns*. The *Hymn to Artemis* follows the brief *H.* 2, with its elaborate break-off at the end, extolling the virtues of the brief and good hymn over the long and poor, and demonstrating the favourable reception of the song on the part of Apollo. *H.* 3 hymns Apollo's sister, his rival (cf. καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Λητωιὰς ὥσπερ Ἀπόλλων ('I too am a child of Leto's like Apollo', v. 83), σὺ δ' Ἀπόλλωνι παρίζεις ('you sit next to Apollo', v. 169), ῥέα κεν Πυθῶνα παρέλθοι ('easily it [*sc.* Ephesus] would surpass Pytho', v. 250)).[228] But at the end there is merely a prayer for the song to be met with Artemis' favour (v. 268). Is the effusive narrator of *H.* 3 a joke at Artemis' expense, given her unmusicality (when compared to her brother?),[229] and the final advice on avoiding her anger tongue-in-cheek? Or is the narrator who will not give up portrayed as one concerned not to avoid giving offence to Artemis by treating her brother better,[230] so that the coda, and the prayer for favour, gain added significance? If so, we should note that the next hymn in the collection is in turn to Apollo (effectively), with Artemis reduced to a solitary mention (*H.* 4.229, in a simile), and constructed as one giant deliberation as to what to sing (recalling the end of the *Hymn to Artemis*).

[228] See on this sibling rivalry Haslam 1993: 115, Hunter–Fuhrer 2002: 162–3, Fain 2004, Plantinga 2004: 258–64.

[229] See, however, Bing–Uhrmeister 1994: 26–8, who suggest Artemis is being portrayed as a patroness of song in vv. 136–7.

[230] Cf. Haslam 1993: 117.

Bornmann suggests it is futile to look for a unifying factor or central theme in *H.* 3,[231] and proposes the *Aetia*, with its disparate episodes, as a parallel.[232] In one sense this is fair. Not, however, because the *Aetia* and the *Hymn to Artemis* both lack unity, but because such unity as they have derives from an interest in the depiction and development of their respective narrators. Nevertheless, though erudition is a characteristic of both, they are different. The *Aetia* does not portray its narrator as verbose, nor does it ironise him to the same degree.

Hymn *4*

The *Hymn to Delos* responds in many ways to the preceding hymn.[233] There Artemis, here Apollo again (Delos, Apollo in *H.* 4.2; Δῆλος δ᾽ Ἀπόλλωνι, 'Delos through Apollo', *H.* 4.24). There a verbose narrator, his hymn feigning its end several times, here a non-ironised narrator who begins with a striking question to himself, and frames the whole song as a deliberation (i.e. as a sort of beginning). Artemis is systematically marginalised in *H.* 4,[234] and we should see the narrator of *H.* 4 in terms of Artemis against Apollo, as well as in relation to the narrator of *H.* 3.

After the *aoidos* of the *Hymn to Artemis* (see *H.* 3.1), we read in *H.* 4 Φοῖβον ἀοιδάων μεδέοντα ('Phoebus ruler of songs', v. 5). There might be a deliberate ambiguity here between ἀοιδάων as 'songs' and as 'singers',[235] given the attention in the opening lines to the narrator, and the subsequent statement that:

> ὡς Μοῦσαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃ μὴ Πίμπλειαν ἀείσῃ
> ἔχθουσιν, τὼς Φοῖβος ὅτις Δήλοιο λάθηται.
>
> As the Muses hate the singer who does not sing of Pimpleia,
> so Phoebus hates whoever forgets Delos. (vv. 7–8)

[231] Bing–Uhrmeister 1994 argue for unity in *H.* 3 based around the portrayal of the gradual development of the goddess, and the resolution of the tension between Artemis goddess of the outdoors and Artemis patroness of cities. See Vestrheim 2000: 74–5 for criticism of this view. Vestrheim, followed by Fain 2004, sees *H.* 3 in the context of the *Homeric Hymns*, in particular *h.Ap.*, the 'additive' nature of which it imitates.

[232] Bornmann 1968: xxvi.

[233] See Haslam 1993: 117, Vestrheim 2000, e.g. 64–6.

[234] See Haslam 1993: 117. The omission is most striking, perhaps, in the final line of the hymn, where Artemis is usurped by her brother – see below.

[235] Despite the objections of Mineur 1984: 55 to A. W. Mair's translation (Mair–Mair 1955: 85) of ἀοιδάων as 'minstrels'. Mineur comments that nothing suggests the masculine here, so that 'songs' must be right, though he also cites the possible parallel of Xenophanes fr. 6.4 D.–K. for ἀοιδάων as 'minstrels'.

This in itself echoes the final lines of *H.* 3 on not incurring the anger of Artemis (and the opening of *H.* 3 on not forgetting Artemis), and in the light of the less-than-perfect narrator of her hymn, and her treatment in *H.* 4, we might wonder about the allegiance of the *aoidos* there and here – το Φοῖβον ἀοιδάων μεδέοντα ('Phoebus ruler of songs/singers')?

In any case, the account of Apollo's birth in *H.* 4 seems to airbrush Artemis out of the myth. The narrator describes Leto as if she was to bear only Apollo (μούνη | Ζηνὶ τεκεῖν ἤμελλε φιλαίτερον Ἄρεος υἷα, 'she alone would bear Zeus a son who was dearer than Ares', vv. 57–8), and she suffers greatly in childbirth, neither of which squares with:

> ᾗσί με Μοῖραι
> γεινομένην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεκλήρωσαν ἀρήγειν,
> ὅττι με καὶ τίκτουσα καὶ οὐκ ἤλγησε φέρουσα
> μήτηρ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀμογητὶ φίλων ἀπεθήκατο γυίων.
>
> The Fates
> even at my very birth appointed me to assist,
> because my mother had no pain carrying or giving
> birth to me, but effortlessly put me aside from her body. (*H.* 3.22–5)

This alludes to Artemis as Eileithyia, and to the tradition that, born on the day before Apollo, she assisted at his birth (cf. D.L. 2.44). But Leto in *H.* 4 has no assistance from Artemis or Eileithyia. Instead, the Deliades sing the Ἐλειθυίης ἱερὸν μέλος ('holy song of Eileithyia', *H.* 4.257). The precocious Artemis child of *H.* 3 (vv. 5, 72) is outdone by her brother, who not once but twice prophesies *ex utero* at *H.* 4.88–98 and 162–95. The narrator's question in v. 24 – τί δὲ στιβαρώτερον ἔρκος; ('what stronger defence is there?') – and his exclamation τοῖός σε βοηθόος ἀμφιβέβηκεν ('such a helper protects you') in v. 27, imply that Artemis' Ephesus, a topic near the end of *H.* 3, is not so well-defended as Delos (cf. Ἐφέσου γὰρ ἀεὶ τεὰ τόξα πρόκειται, 'as your arrows defend Ephesus', *H.* 3.258), for all that 'easily it would surpass Pytho' (*H.* 3.250). Furthermore, *H.* 4 appropriates one of Artemis' cult names, Upis (cf. *H.* 3.204, 240), as the name of one of the original Deliades (*H.* 4.292), and where Artemis appears in *H.* 4, it is in a simile at vv. 228ff. But she is not even the topic of comparison, but appears peripherally as the owner of the dog to whom Iris is compared.[236] Mineur discerns her, well hidden, in τὰ Ζηνὸς . . . τέκνα ('the children of

[236] See Haslam 1993: 117.

Zeus') at *H.* 4.111,[237] which only serves to confirm her unimportance in the hymn. Some, however, have seen her in the final farewell:

> ἱστίη ὦ νήσων εὐέστιε, χαῖρε μὲν αὐτή,
> χαίροι δ᾽ Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ ἣν ἐλοχεύσατο Λητώ.
>
> O prosperous hearth of islands, farewell to you,
> and may Apollo fare well and also she whom Leto bore. (vv. 325–6)

Thus the *paradosis* seems to bid farewell to 'she whom Leto bore', i.e. Artemis. Given her absence in the rest of the hymn, this has been suspected, and emended away, the best suggestion being Wilamowitz's ἣν ἐλοχεύσαο Λητώ ('and Leto whom you [*sc.* Delos] delivered').[238] But Mineur, uncomfortable with the rapid changes of subject, suggests following Verdenius and keeping the text as it stands,[239] translating 'and may Apollo fare well and Leto, whom *he* [my italics] delivered', because in *H.* 4 Apollo himself 'without help from Eileithyia or anybody else "jumped forward" from Leto's womb.'[240] We can extend this insight – the ambiguous phrasing of the final lines alludes to Artemis, but has Apollo usurp his sister's midwifery of her mother.

Into this background fits the narrator, who is not verbose and a subject for self-irony as in *H.* 3. The Archaic and lyric models in *H.* 4 are correspondingly not used to satirise the narrator,[241] but to draw attention to his difference from that of *H.* 3. The style is much more lively and engaging, as the treatment of places Leto visits demonstrates. Callimachus does not merely list the places (as in the catalogue of Leto's wanderings at *h.Ap.* 30–44), but places Iris on Mimas (v. 67, mentioned in the catalogue at *h.Ap.* 39) as a guardian, and describes the flight of towns, hills and rivers (φεῦγε μὲν Ἀρκαδίη, φεῦγεν δ᾽ ὄρος ἱερὸν Αὔγης | Παρθένιον, φεῦγεν . . ., 'Arcadia ran away, run away did the sacred hill of Auge, Parthenium, ran away . . .', vv. 70–5).[242] When the nymph Melia, at the sight of Helicon shaking, ὑπόχλοον ἔσχε παρειὴν | ἤλικος ἀσθμαίνουσα περὶ δρυός ('had pale cheeks and panted for her oak of the same age', vv. 80–1), the narrator intervenes 'out of his concern for Melia' by asking the Muses a question about the relationship between

[237] Mineur 1984: 137.
[238] Followed by Pfeiffer's text; '. . . y aquella, Leto, a la que tú, Delos, asististe', Fernández-Galiano 1976–80: 400 ad λοχεύομαι.
[239] Verdenius *apud* McKay 1962b: 169 with n. 3; McKay suggests *Artemis* as the midwife.
[240] Mineur 1984: 252.
[241] See in general on echoes of Pindar in *H.* 4 Bing 1988: 96–110, Meillier 1995: 132–48, Depew 1998: 163–6.
[242] Cf. Bulloch 1984: 218–19, who sees in Callimachus' treatment the wholesale construction of a new, very weird, world to replace the simple list of the *Homeric Hymn*.

nymph and oak.[243] This emotional involvement is characteristic of the hymn,[244] and further enlivens the account of Leto's wanderings. The question to the Muses is followed by Apollo's first speech from the womb, and his condemnation of Thebes (vv. 88–98), the narrator's challenge to Hera (vv. 106ff.), and the scene of Leto and Peneius (on which see below).

The different purpose to which Callimachus puts slowing the narrative and surprising the audience in *H*. 4.228ff. also brings out the contrast with the style of *H*. 3. Iris has excused herself for having failed to prevent Asteria from offering Leto assistance (vv. 218–27). There then follows a lengthy simile (vv. 228–32), which compares Iris to a hunting dog of Artemis, ever ready to receive the call of the goddess. But this section is extended further – Iris never forgets her seat, even when sleeping (vv. 233–4), but sleeps by the throne with her head bent (vv. 235–6). Nor, we are told, does she loose her girdle or hunting boots in case Hera gives her a command (vv. 237–9). Then, at last, after twelve lines 'of frustrating interlude',[245] Hera replies. Why the delay? One critic thinks the audience anticipates Hera's punishment of Asteria, and Callimachus is striving for suspense.[246] But what follows the long characterisation of Iris is real surprise that Hera does not delay Leto further – in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* her labour lasts ἐννῆμάρ τε καὶ ἐννέα νύκτας ('nine days and nine nights', v. 91), to which the narrator there devotes vv. 91–114. Leto's travails are only eased when Iris fetches Eileithyia to Delos. Hence in Callimachus the concentration on the scene prepares the audience for further delay, which does not materialise, Apollo's birth following swiftly on the end of Hera's speech at vv. 249ff., and so ultimately forms a replacement for the delaying of the birth.[247] But this play with audience and model does not undermine the narrator.

The very opening of the hymn draws our attention to the narrator:

> τὴν ἱερήν, ὦ θυμέ, τίνα χρόνον †ηποτ† ἀείσεις
> Δῆλον, Ἀπόλλωνος κουροτρόφον;
>
> O heart, what time . . . will you sing of sacred
> Delos, Apollo's nursing mother? (vv. 1–2)

While postponing the god's name until the second line in a hexameter hymn is unconventional,[248] more remarkable still is the self-apostrophe of the narrator (no similar opening in the other Callimachean *Hymns*, nor the

[243] Mineur 1984: 118. [244] See Hutchinson 1988: 36–8.
[245] McKay 1962b: 163. [246] See McKay 1962b: 162.
[247] Cf. Depew 1998: 162–5, who thinks the variations from *h.Ap*. prompt the reader to recall Pindar's narration of the birth of Apollo, e.g. in *Paean* 7b and Pindar's *Hymn to Zeus*.
[248] Cf. Mineur 1984: 49, Janko 1981: 9.

Homeric Hymns). While there is perhaps no direct reference to a particular passage in Pindar, there is the prominent use of a Pindaric technique.[249] Pindar addresses himself at the beginning of a poem at *O.* 1.4 φίλον ἦτορ ('dear heart'), *O.* 9.6ff. (imperatives), *O.* 10.1ff. (imperative), and can question himself about the subject of a song (*O.* 2.89–90 – 'my heart: at whom are we shooting now?', *N.* 3.26ff. – 'my heart, to what foreign headland are you steering my ship astray?').

The address to the Ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι ('Lyre-ruling songs') in *O.* 2.1ff. and the subsequent questions about what god, hero and man to sing about combine these usages. The address approaches self-apostrophe, and again concerns the selection of a subject for song. The nature of narratorial self-apostrophes in other Archaic poets indicates that this device was particularly prominent in Pindar: Archilochus fr. 128 W. (to 'my heart' (θυμέ), telling himself to resist foes), Theognis 213–14, 695–6, 877–8, 1029–36 (to 'my heart' (θυμέ), possibly the addressee of the poem rather than the poet, with advice), Ibycus *PMGF* 317 (b) ('always, o dear heart, as when the purple-bird with long wings . . .' – context unclear), Simonides fr.eleg. 21.3 W. (ψυχ[ή], possibly to addressee, declaring 'my soul, I cannot be your watchful guardian').[250] Significantly, none of these other self-apostrophes comes in the context of the selection or control of material for a poem or narrative, but of advising the θυμός or 'heart' (in a manner somewhat reminiscent of Homeric characters such as Odysseus).[251]

The self-address in *H.* 4 immediately focuses attention on the narrator, and points him up as autonomous, not requiring to ask the god hymned or the Muses for inspiration. Even when he turns to ask the Muses a question, he describes them with a possessive pronoun:

> ἐμαὶ θεαί, εἴπατε Μοῦσαι,
> ἦ ῥ' ἐτεὸν ἐγένοντο τότε δρύες ἡνίκα Νύμφαι;
>
> My goddesses, tell me, Muses,
> is it true that oaks are born at the same time as their Nymphs?
>
> (vv. 82–3)

This claim of ownership of Muse *being invoked* is without precedent.[252] The closest parallel is Pindaric: ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἁμετέρα ('o queen Muse, my mother', *N.* 3.1), and Callimachus may intend a similar claim of kinship. The question to the Muses, followed by their answer in vv. 84–5,[253] reminds the reader of the structure of *Aetia* 1–2. Even

[249] See Giangrande 1968: 58–9. [250] Translation of Simonides from West 1993b: 171.
[251] Cf., e.g., *Od.* 5.298–312. [252] So Mineur 1984: 118. [253] See Mineur 1984: 117.

if the *Hymn to Delos* was originally written before *Aetia* 1–2, a collected edition of the *Hymns* would have come after it. If the narrator of *Aetia* 1–2 was 'Callimachus', a reader of the *Hymns* as a collection thus also associates the narrator of *H.* 4 with 'Callimachus'. Though such a persona could be undermined and treated ironically (especially in the *Iambi*),[254] it is perhaps one reason here for the more straightforward treatment of the narrator. It is also consistent with, though hardly implies, performance at a Museum occasion such as that suggested by Mineur.[255]

The relatively autonomous narrator thus portrayed is mitigated to a certain extent by the framing of most of the hymn as a deliberation,[256] again of the sort we often find at the beginning of a poem (compare the endings of *H.* 3, in particular its priamel-like catalogue at vv. 259–68):[257]

> εἰ δὲ λίην πολέες σε περιτροχόωσιν ἀοιδαί,
> ποίῃ ἐνιπλέξω σε; τί τοι θυμῆρες ἀκοῦσαι;
> ἢ ὡς τὰ πρώτιστα μέγας θεὸς οὔρεα θείνων
> ἄορι τριγλώχινι . . .
> νήσους εἰναλίας εἰργάζετο . . .;
>
> If very many songs run round you, with what shall I envelop you?
> What would it please you to hear? Is it how right at the beginning
> the great god striking the mountains with his three-forked sword . . .
> made the islands in the sea . . .? (vv. 28–32)

The rest of the hymn follows on from this question about whether (ἢ ὡς, 'is it how') to sing about the fixing of the islands. This parallels *h.Ap.* 25ff.,[258] where the narrator asks Apollo whether he should tell of Leto giving birth to him on Delos:

> ἢ ὥς σε πρῶτον Λητὼ τέκε, χάρμα βροτοῖσι
>
> Is it how Leto first gave birth to you, a joy for mortals?

Vv. 19–29 of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 'dramatize a process of poetic decision-making'.[259] In *h.Ap.*, however, there is a stronger sense of starting the narrative by going back to the beginning, *after* the question has been put to the god. Vv. 30ff., following the question, begin as a catalogue of peoples (ὅσσους Κρήτη τ' ἐντὸς ἔχει, 'how many there are in

[254] Cf. pp. 203–8 below.
[255] For *H.* 4 as a *genethliakon* see Mineur 1984 *passim*, criticised by Griffiths 1988: 231.
[256] So Harder 1992: 387, with comments on how this resolves the problem of the narrator's omniscience.
[257] See in general Knight 1988.
[258] See Mineur 1984: 75, Harder 1992: 387 n. 15. [259] Miller 1986: 23.

Crete', v. 30), but by v. 45 have become a catalogue of places (τόσσον ἔπ' ὠδίνουσα Ἑκηβόλον ἵκετο Λητώ, 'so far Leto went to in labour with the Far-shooter'),[260] but in any case take us back to Leto's wanderings, the beginning of the narrative. The sense that the question has been answered and the narrative selected is strong. The return to the start is also apparent in the similar selection of song later in *h.Ap.*, at vv. 207ff., where again the narrator asks Apollo how to sing of him, introducing the narrative chosen thus:

> . . . ἢ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον χρηστήριον ἀνθρώποισι
> ζητεύων κατὰ γαῖαν ἔβης, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον;
>
> . . . or how first you travelled the earth looking for an
> oracle-place for men, far-shooting Apollo? (vv. 214–15)

The next line takes us to Pieria, the beginning of Apollo's travels (Πιερίην μὲν πρῶτον, 'Pieria first', v. 216). In *H.* 4, however, the narrative follows directly on the question, without returning to the beginning, as if it was still part of the question itself:

> νέρθε δὲ πάσας
> ἐκ νεάτων ὤχλισσε καὶ εἰσεκύλισε θαλάσσῃ;
> καὶ τὰς μὲν κατὰ βυσσόν, ἵν' ἠπείροιο λάθωνται,
> πρυμνόθεν ἐρρίζωσε· σὲ δ' οὐκ ἔθλιψεν ἀνάγκη . . .
>
> [. . . how . . .] up from the depths he [*sc.* Poseidon]
> levered all [*sc.* the islands] and rolled them in the sea?
> And some to the bottom, so they could forget the mainland,
> he rooted from their bases. But no restriction oppressed you . . . (vv. 32–5)

The question, and the narrative of Poseidon's fixing of the islands, *continue* through καὶ τὰς μὲν ('and some', v. 34), which is balanced by σὲ δ' ('but you', v. 35), which begins the narrative of Apollo's birth on Delos. Many priamels, however, have a much sharper break between potential subjects and that chosen. The catalogue of Theban glories on which Pindar questions Thebe at the beginning of *I.* 7 is broken off with ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ γάρ | εὕδει χάρις ('but ancient glory sleeps', vv. 16–17), and praise of the victor follows instead. The blurring of the distinction between the deliberative question and the selected narrative seems designed to structure the rest of the hymn as a deliberation. Such a strategy in *H.* 4 has a parallel in Pindar's framing of much of *P.* 3 as the apodosis of a counterfactual conditional (what Pindar *would* pray for, if it were right, vv. 2–3).[261]

[260] Cf. Miller 1986: 32–3. [261] Cf. Young 1968: 28–33.

Apart from the opening self-apostrophe, and the deliberation in vv. 28ff., Callimachus keeps our attention on the narrator in the opening section of the hymn through a first-person promise to give Delos her share of song (ἀποδάσσομαι, 'I will apportion', v. 9) to gain praise (for 'me', v. 10) from Apollo, and the rhetorical question in v. 24 and exclamation in v. 27 (quoted above), which portray the narrator as a praiser of Delos, and, more obliquely, Apollo. Indeed the encomiastic function of the narrator is more explicit in *H.* 4 than in any other of the *Hymns*, as the longest Ptolemaic passage in the *Hymns* (vv. 165–90) indicates, predicting the birth of Philadelphus on Cos, the Celtic attack on Delphi and the Celtic rebellion against Philadelphus.[262] This may explain in part why the narrator is not comprehensively undercut in the manner of *H.* 3.

H. 4 also uses scholarship to a different purpose as compared with *H.* 3. Parentheses such as that on the old name of Lipare at *H.* 3.47–8 were peripheral to the main narrative, but even such elements in *H.* 4 as the parenthesis about Samos – οὔπω γὰρ ἔην Σάμος ('it was not yet Samos, you see', v. 49) – and the etymology of Delos in vv. 52ff. are 'central': they follow naturally in a *Hymn to Delos* from singing about how Poseidon made the islands in the sea (vv. 30ff.), with a narrative set so long ago that even Apollo has not yet been born.[263] But this aetiological and etymological lore is not so much a typically Hellenistic display of erudition as part of the more serious dimension to Hellenistic interest in aetia and local myths and heroes, which could form a link between the present and the past, whose significance could be stressed or remodelled for the changed circumstances of the Hellenistic Mediterranean.[264] The etymologies above, and in particular the closing section of the hymn on modern Delian ritual (vv. 275–324), emphasise the links between the mythic and Hellenistic Delos.[265] Pointing up a connection between past and present need not coincide with a Delian connection for the first performance of the hymn, particularly as it seems to build on the final part of the Delian part of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (vv. 146–64, which evoke a Delian festival with a

[262] See Depew 1998: 174–5, who thinks the main praise for Ptolemy comes in being able to appreciate the clever references to and manipulation of intertexts from *h.Ap.* and Pindar.

[263] Cf. Vestrheim 2000: 64–6 for a contrast between the 'centralising' and selective *H.* 4 and the 'additive' and indiscriminate *H.* 3 in terms of their portrayal of Apollo and Artemis respectively.

[264] See Cairns 1979: 13, Zanker 1987: 16, and especially Stephens 2003: 256–7, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 49–51.

[265] See, however, Depew 1998: 179–82, who suggests a more ludic function for the closing aetiologies of *H.* 4, which serve not to point to shared ritual practice (as aetiologies in Pindar or the *Homeric Hymns* might function), but to the poet and audience's shared knowledge of various traditions and texts.

chorus of Delian maidens etc.). But it provides a plausible explanation for the final section.[266]

As in *H.* 3 from vv. 72ff., after an opening in the third person, there is almost constant apostrophe in *H.* 4 from vv. 27ff.,[267] where the narrator addresses Δῆλε φίλη ('dear Delos') in an exclamation about her protector. This emotional employment of apostrophe is a prominent feature in *H.* 4, marking the narrator out as more involved with his narrative than Homeric or *Homeric Hymn* narrators (though, of course, the Homeric narrator does occasionally apostrophise characters).[268] It also plays a more central role in the structuring of the poem than in *H.* 3 – the successive addresses to Delos form the framework of the story,[269] and mark the different stages of the song. There is also more variety in addressee and purpose than in *H.* 3 – there only Artemis was addressed, here (in addition to the opening self-apostrophe) we have Delos, the Muses, Hera, and the oblique optative farewell to Leto and Apollo in v. 326 (and see below for the quasi-narratorial address by Apollo to Philadelphus at vv. 188ff.).

In the address at vv. 106ff. to Hera there is a marked accusatory tone:[270]

> Ἥρη, σοὶ δ᾽ ἔτι τῆμος ἀνηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔκειτο
> οὐδὲ κατεκλάσθης τε καὶ ᾤκτισας, ἡνίκα πήχεις
> ἀμφοτέρους ὀρέγουσα μάτην ἐφθέγξατο τοῖα
>
> Hera, even then your heart remained pitiless, and you were not
> moved nor did you take pity, when stretching forth
> both arms she spoke in vain as follows.

This in itself is unusual, as an apostrophe generally indicates narratorial sympathy towards the subject addressed,[271] as in Homer (e.g. to Patroclus). But, despite maintaining the formality of the non-ῶ vocative,[272] there is also more emotional content than in Homeric apostrophes – Hera's heart is ἀνηλεές ('pitiless'), and the Homeric equivalent, νηλής, is only used by characters of people/hearts, and only appears in speech in the *Homeric Hymns*.[273] She also does not 'take pity'. Similar language is also put to powerful description of Hera reacting to Leto's pregnancy – σπερχομένη μέγα δή τι καὶ οὐ φατόν ('greatly and unspeakably angry', v. 60) which is

[266] Mineur 1984: 222, on the other hand, takes the ἀμφιετεῖς . . . ἀπαρχαί, 'yearly . . . first fruits', v. 278, as referring to the usual birthday gifts sent to the Ptolemies, the rites of passage of the Delian youths, vv. 269ff., and sailors, vv. 316ff., as relating to Callimachus as a fresher in the Museum etc.
[267] See Mineur 1984: 6–7. [268] Cf. pp. 91–2 above. [269] Cf. Mineur 1984: 6–7.
[270] See Mineur 1984: 134. [271] Cf. Mineur 1984: 134.
[272] See Scott 1903, Scott 1904, Scott 1905, Gildersleeve–Miller 1903, Giangrande 1968.
[273] Cf. pp. 91–4 above.

'an extremely strong expression'.[274] It echoes two passages of Pindar (σπέρχεσθαι in Homer only approaches the meaning of 'to be angry' at *Il.* 24.248):

> ἀλλὰ θεῶν βασίλεα
> σπερχθεῖσα θυμῷ πέμπε δράκοντας ἄφαρ.
>
> But the queen of the gods,
> angry at heart, sent snakes at once; (*N.* 1.39–40)

> ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πυθῶνάδ', ἐν θυμῷ πιέσαις χόλον οὐ φατὸν ὀξείᾳ μελέτᾳ
>
> But he [went] to Pytho, pressing back in his heart unspeakable anger
> with sharp diligence. (*O.* 6.37)

In *N.* 1 Hera is not unaware of Heracles' 'illegitimate' birth (as in *H.* 4 of Leto's pregnancy) by one of the women αἳ Διὶ παῖδας | ἐξέφερον ('who bore Zeus children', *H.* 4.56–7), while in *O.* 6 Evadne cannot conceal her pregnancy (by Apollo) from Aepytus (*O.* 6.35), who *is* able to beat down his unspeakable anger.

The heightened emotional tone continues through the speeches of the distressed Leto in vv. 109ff., which differ from any we find in the *Homeric Hymns*, being 'substantially Tragic in content'.[275] Leto appeals to the Thessalian nymphs to beseech Peneius (vv. 110–11), then addresses him herself, Πηνειὲ Φθιῶτα, τί νῦν ἀνέμοισιν ἐρίζεις; ('Peneius of Phthia, why are you racing the winds?', v. 112). But she recognises his speed is on account of her (vv. 114–15), and not normal, hence his not heeding her: '... πεποίησαι δὲ πέτεσθαι | σήμερον ἐξαπίνης;' ὁ δ' ἀνήκοος ('"... have you been made to fly today all of a sudden?" But he would not hear her', vv. 115–16). These last three words may be a narratorial interjection between Leto's speeches,[276] but hardly one which punctures the tone of the passage (contrast the learned asides of *H.* 3). Nor does the wider situation of the speech, the flight of rivers, hills and nymphs before Leto, which Hutchinson describes as 'weird',[277] negate its effect.

Leto then addresses her unborn child in terms emphasising her suffering and her helplessness, ὦ ἐμὸν ἄχθος, | ποῖ σε φέρω; μέλεοι γὰρ ἀπειρήκασι τένοντες ('O my grief, where do I carry you? My poor tendons are worn out', vv. 116–17). Again, the anthropomorphic physicality

[274] Mineur 1984: 99. [275] Mineur 1984: 136.
[276] So Mair–Mair 1955: 95.
[277] Hutchinson 1988: 37. It is extremely odd and arresting – see Williams 1993: 221–2.

of the god which this emphasises is not incongruous, but adds to the scene's effect.[278] She then pleads with Pelion (vv. 118–20), when we are surprised – *Peneius*, who had been racing the winds, answers Leto δάκρυα λείβων ('shedding tears', v. 121).[279] His flight is not his fault – Ἀναγκαίη μεγάλη θεός ('Necessity is a powerful goddess', v. 122), and μοι Ἥρη | δαψιλὲς ἠπείλησεν ('Hera threatened me greatly', vv. 124–5). But there is nothing to be done – τί μήσομαι; ἢ ἀπολέσθαι | ἡδύ τί τοι Πηνειόν; ('what shall I do? Or do you want Peneius to die?', vv. 127–8) – but endure his fate: ἴτω πεπρωμένον ἦμαρ ('let the fated day come', v. 128), ἠνίδ' ἐγώ· τί περισσά; ('I am here. What else?', v. 132). He will suffer for Leto, even if he is the least honoured of rivers (vv. 129–31). This confounding of audience expectation does not undercut the narrator (contrast the 'endings' of *H.* 3),[280] but adds to the effect of Peneius' self-sacrifice.[281]

The threat Ares poses to Peneius is conveyed in the longest passage (vv. 133–47) of sustained grandeur in the *Hymns*, the style almost denoted by ὑψόθε ('on high'):[282]

> ὑψόθε δ' ἐσμαράγησε καὶ ἀσπίδα τύψεν ἀκωκῇ
> δούρατος· ἡ δ' ἐλέλιξεν ἐνόπλιον· ἔτρεμε δ' Ὄσσης
> οὔρεα καὶ πεδίον Κραννώνιον αἵ τε δυσαεῖς
> ἐσχατιαὶ Πίνδοιο, φόβῳ δ' ὠρχήσατο πᾶσα
> Θεσσαλίη· τοῖος γὰρ ἀπ' ἀσπίδος ἔβραμεν ἦχος.
>
> On high he thundered and struck his shield with the tip
> of his spear. And it rang out like a war-cry. Ossa's mountains trembled
> and the plain of Crannon and the stormy edges of Pindus, and the whole
> of Thessaly danced in fright, for such was the sound which thundered
> from the shield. (vv. 136–40)

There follows an extensive simile of the noise Ares' shield makes, like Aetna shaken by Briareus' movement, the tools of Hephaestus crashing against each other (recalling the impressive description of Aetna in *P.* 1.20ff.) – τῆμος ἔγεντ' ἄραβος σάκεος τόσος εὐκύκλοιο ('so great was the din from the well-rounded shield then', v. 147). But Peneius stands his ground:

> Πηνειὸς δ' οὐκ αὖτις ἐχάζετο, μίμνε δ' ὁμοίως
> καρτερὸς ὡς τὰ πρῶτα, θοὰς δ' ἐστήσατο δίνας

[278] See Hutchinson 1988: 37. [279] See Haslam 1993: 118. [280] Cf. Haslam 1993: 118.

[281] See Aristotle's *Poetics* on tragic περιπέτειαι ('reversals'), which bring about the most powerful emotional effects, along with recognitions (1450a33–5).

[282] The 'high' tone here is enhanced, as Chris Carey reminds me, by the echo of Zeus' nod from *Il.* 1: μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον, 'and he shook great Olympus' (v. 530).

> Peneius did not move back, but remained all the same,
> mighty as before, and stopped his swift eddies. (vv. 148–9)

The scene of Leto and Peneius in itself should be reason enough to doubt the general application of βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμὸν ἀλλὰ Διός ('to thunder is not mine, but Zeus'', *Aetia* prologue v. 20). Elsewhere, such a tone is regularly neutralised or destroyed, as in *H.* 6 where we move to bourgeois comedy after divine epiphany (cf. below). But here there is only a slight modification. Peneius is released from his duty by a compassionate Leto in vv. 150–2 – the threats of Ares have been to this degree empty.[283]

The next section, encompassing the νήσους | εἰναλίας ('islands in the sea', vv. 153–4), and Cos in vv. 160ff., also has the 'authentic tone of grandeur',[284] but here the narrator hands over to the unborn Apollo for over thirty lines. Letting Apollo speak is a strategy elsewhere in Callimachus (the end of *H.* 2, the beginning of the *Aetia*, in *Iamb.* 12), and here too he can achieve effects more difficult through the primary narrator. In this case the situation is stranger still because Apollo prophesies *ex utero*, which further distances this from ordinary panegyric.[285] Cos is reserved for θεὸς ἄλλος ('another god', v. 165), an oblique reference to Philadelphus, who is part of the Σαωτήρων ὕπατον γένος ('highest race of Saviours', v. 166), a nod at Ptolemy Soter and Berenice,[286] which is followed by an indication of the extent of Ptolemaic rule (vv. 168–9). Apollo follows this with another heightened description (varied now by being in the mouth of the god) of the threat to Delphi from the Celts (vv. 171ff.),[287] whose presence at Delphi he vividly describes in terms of the ranks and weaponry which can be seen there (ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη παρὰ νηὸν ἀπαυγάζοιντο φάλαγγας | δυσμενέων, ἤδη δὲ παρὰ τριπόδεσσιν ἐμεῖο | φάσγανα καὶ ζωστῆρας ἀναιδέας ἐχθομένας τε | ἀσπίδας, 'but already gaze on the enemies' ranks beside the shrine, already by my tripods gaze on their swords and shameless belts and hated shields', vv. 181–4), but whose defeat he describes more obliquely – τέων αἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ

[283] Cf. also Haslam 1993: 119–20, who points out that the audience knows that Leto will not stop here, despite Peneius' offer – she is destined for Delos.

[284] Hutchinson 1988: 38–9.

[285] See Hutchinson 1988: 39 (compare, e.g., Theocritus 17). This degree of precociousness outdoes Apollo's sister in *H.* 3, and also his model in the *Homeric Hymn*, where Apollo declares his prophetic powers when new-born (vv. 130ff.). Cf. Depew 1998: 167–8.

[286] Cf. Fraser 1972: II.367–8 n. 229.

[287] See on this passage and its Egyptian associations Bing 1988: 128–36.

γέρας ('their [*sc.* shields] will be my prize', v. 185). There then comes an allusive mention of the Celtic threat to Philadelphus himself,[288] and an address to the future Ptolemy:

> ἐσσόμενε Πτολεμαῖε, τά τοι μαντήια φαίνω.
>
> Ptolemy to be, I make clear these prophecies for you. (v. 188)

An address in an encomiastic passage such as this one would normally be made by the primary narrator (even in Pindar's *P.* 4, where Medea predicts Battus' visit to Delphi, the narrator himself addresses him, v. 59). Apollo's address is not only novel, but, if spoken by the poet at a performance with Philadelphus present, usurps the narrator's function even more directly, by addressing a member of the audience being praised.[289]

The narrator is also prepared to share his duties with Delos. After Apollo's birth, the narrator turns to Delos to report her now changed state:

> χρύσεά τοι τότε πάντα θεμείλια γείνετο, Δῆλε,
> χρυσῷ δὲ τροχόεσσα πανήμερος ἔρρεε λίμνη,
> χρύσειον δ' ἐκόμησε γενέθλιον ἔρνος ἐλαίης,
> χρυσῷ δὲ πλήμυρε βαθὺς Ἰνωπὸς ἑλιχθείς.
>
> Golden, at that time, became all your foundations, Delos,
> golden ran your round pool throughout the day,
> golden were the leaves of your birth-shoot of olive,
> and golden flowed deep, twisting Inopus. (vv. 260–3)

The anaphora at the line-beginnings emphasises effectively Delos' new honour, and this amounts to Delos' epiphany.[290] But then Delos herself, taking Apollo χρυσέοιο ἀπ' οὔδεος ('from the golden earth', v. 264), a transformation which has just occurred, proclaims her own further honours. Delos is hard to till (v. 268), but Apollo will be called Δήλιος ('Delian') after her (v. 269), and no land will be so loved ὡς ἐγὼ Ἀπόλλωνι ('as I by Apollo', v. 273). Finally she confirms: καὶ ἔσσομαι οὐκέτι πλαγκτή ('and I will no longer be wandering', v. 273). Thus the narrator avoids repeating himself, by placing the fixing of Delos, which he had already mentioned at vv. 51–4, in the mouth of the island herself.

[288] See Mineur 1984: 177–8. [289] Cf. Mineur 1984: 179. [290] So Mineur 1984: 213.

Hymn 5

The opening four lines of the *Hymn on the Bath of Pallas* establish it as mimetic.[291] They also point us, obliquely, to the rite described – the washing (λωτροχόοι, 'bath-pourers', v. 1) of Athena's statue (τᾶς Παλλάδος, 'the Pallas', v. 1),[292] the location – Argos (Πελασγιάδες, 'daughters of Pelasgus', v. 4),[293] the situation – just before Athena arrives (ἁ θεὸς εὔτυκος ἔρπεν, 'the goddess is ready to come', v. 3) and the addressee – the 'bath-pourers', those to take part in the rite. Hence the voice too seems certain, a 'master of ceremonies' directing these 'bath-pourers' to come out (vv. 1, 2) and to hurry (v. 4).[294] This voice of a religious official is also prominent in vv. 13ff. and vv. 29ff., ordering (vv. 17, 31) what should not and what should be brought to the rite by the 'bath-pourers'.[295] The 'master of ceremonies' then addresses Athena in a manner which resembles the earlier commands to the 'bath-pourers' to 'come out' in vv. 1–2:

> ἔξιθ' Ἀθαναία· πάρα τοι καταθύμιος ἴλα,
> παρθενικαὶ μεγάλων παῖδες Ἀρεστοριδᾶν·
>
> Come out, Athena: you have a pleasing company here,
> the daughters of the great sons of Arestor. (vv. 33–4)

More commands follow to water-carriers not to dip their pitchers (v. 45), to Argos itself not to drink from the river (v. 46), and to the men of Argos not to look on Athena (vv. 51–2). In general, critics have thought the voice in *H.* 5 straightforward and 'single'.[296] But in fact it seems clear that there is a deliberate ambiguity of speaker and speaker's sex in the hymn, one which reflects important aspects of the deity to which it is dedicated.[297]

In view of the female addressee, the restriction of the washing rite to women and the similar pattern of the myths of Teiresias and Actaeon,

[291] See pp. 109–15 above. For a fuller treatment of the narrator of *Hymn* 5 see Morrison 2005, on which I depend here.

[292] Statue and goddess are identified in *H.* 5 – cf. McKay 1962a: 55, Bulloch 1985a: 111. See, however Hutchinson 1988: 33–4.

[293] Further confirmed by Ἀργείως ('Argives', v. 36), Ἄργος ('Argos', v. 45), τῶργος ('Argos', v. 54).

[294] See, e.g., Pretagostini 1991: 256.

[295] Addressed as such in v. 15, and as 'daughters of Achaea' (v. 13), 'girls' (v. 27).

[296] Cf. Haslam 1993: 125. Bulloch 1985a: 3 calls it 'the same throughout the poem'. See, however, Cahen 1929: 396 and Depew 1994: 410 n. 7, who discern some vagueness or ambiguity. Vestrheim 2002 thinks the voice in *H.* 5, as that in *H.* 2, cannot be pinned down to a coherent individual, and is subordinated to its task in the hymn, which is to describe the rite to its readers.

[297] For a fuller treatment of the sexual ambiguity of the narrator in *H.* 5 and the consequences for the representation of Athena in *H.* 5 see Morrison 2005, on which I depend here.

where a male intrudes on all-female bathing, several scholars have considered the possibility that the religious official is female.[298] One might derive further support for this thesis from the character of the myth, which concentrates on the reaction of a mother to the blinding of her son, and which emphasises his youth (darkening cheeks, vv. 75–86; παιδός, 'child's', v. 82; φάεα παιδός, 'child's eyes', vv. 92; παῖδα, 'child', v. 93; τέκνον, 'child', v. 98; παίδων, 'children's', v. 99) in a way which one might think appropriate in a female narrator. This use of παῖς ('child') resembles that in *H.* 6 of Erysichthon even at his most savage, which one critic has seen as a mark of the female narrator there.[299] But though there are signs that the narrator is female, there are also several aspects which point us to a narrator closely grounded upon the author, Callimachus, and therefore to a male.

At the beginning of the hymn, after the opening four lines and before the 'master of ceremonies' continues commanding in vv. 13ff., vv. 5–12 tell us that Athena never washed herself before her horses, not even when she returned from battle with the γαγενέων ('Earthborn', v. 8). The lines form a novel type of the usual hymnal account of the god's attributes,[300] but we can also see them as parenthetic.[301] Readers normally take them as addressed to the celebrants,[302] as the lines before and after them, but they do not follow neatly on the command to the Πελασγιάδες to hurry: 'hurry now, fair daughters of Pelasgus, hurry. | *Never did Athena wash her great arms . . .*' (vv. 4–5). An explanatory parenthesis would often have γάρ ('you see'), but Callimachus may have omitted this to keep the narrator ambiguous. This would then be a 'Callimachean' aside at the very start of the poem.[303] In contrast, the parenthesis in v. 14 – συρίγγων ἀίω φθόγγον ὑπαξόνιον ('I hear the axles creaking on the naves')[304] – functions as part of the mimetic setting of the hymn, but next to it we find the explanatory οὐ γὰρ Ἀθαναία χρίματα μεικτὰ φιλεῖ ('Athena, you see, does not like mixed oils') in v. 16, which in turn resembles a scholarly aside. The mention the narrator makes of the ἔθος ('custom', v. 36) taught by Eumedes to the Argives seems similarly 'scholarly'. When the narrator repeats himself in vv. 40–1 – Κρεῖον δ' εἰς ὄρος ᾤκίσατο· | Κρεῖον ὄρος ('he [*sc.* Eumedes] settled on the Creian mountain, the Creian

[298] See McKay 1962a: 51, Bulloch 1985a: 3, Harder 1992: 389 n. 21. For the role of the *Hymn to Athena* (and the *Hymn to Artemis*) in relation to the representation of the females of the Ptolemaic royal family see Depew 2004: 125–35.

[299] See Bing 1995a: 36 n. 31.

[300] Cf. Hunter 1992: 16, Depew 1993: 67, Depew 1994: 417.

[301] See Hunter 1992: 15–16.

[302] E.g. Bulloch 1985a: 115–16.

[303] So Hunter 1992: 15–16.

[304] Translation from Bulloch 1985a: 93.

mountain') – this gives the impression that the narrator is responding to the disbelief or confusion of his audience.[305] This is followed by an etymology of the Pallatid rocks (vv. 41–2).

We could probably reconcile all of this with a narrator not strongly tied to the author, if not for vv. 55–6:

> πότνι' Ἀθαναία σὺ μὲν ἔξιθι· μέσφα δ' ἐγώ τι
> ταῖσδ' ἐρέω. μῦθος δ' οὐκ ἐμός, ἀλλ' ἑτέρων.
>
> Lady Athena, come out now: in the meantime I shall tell something to these women – the story is not mine, but others'.

This ἐγώ ('I') speaks like a poet (for ἐρέω, 'I shall tell', cf. *Il.* 2.493), and has sources (ἑτέρων, 'others'') for his narrative.[306] The lines point to the narrator's 'own personal and original use of [sources]',[307] rather than disavowing responsibility for a morally or factually dubious tale.[308] The narrator here merely says he will tell a tale μέσφα, or 'in the meantime'. Such a teller of tales is a long way from the apparent 'master of ceremonies' of earlier in the hymn. These lines maintain the fictionality of the hymn's mimetic situation (ταῖσδε, 'these women') but flag it as such.[309] The status of this mimetic setting as the frame for the myth, which is no narrative interlude, is made clear in v. 137, after the myth's close: ἔρχετ' Ἀθαναία νῦν ἀτρεκές· ('*now truly* [my italics] is Athena coming'). This neatly demonstrates the priority of the myth over the mimetic frame: the narrator, not Athena, is in control.[310] She can come out now the myth has been told.[311]

It is because of these lines that Haslam opposes the idea of a female narrator,[312] and Cameron sees the only first-person statement in the *Hymns* referring to Callimachus qua poet. But we should not identify the narrator of *H.* 5 straightforwardly as 'Callimachus'. The very end of the hymn, following the statement of Athena's imminent arrival, echoes hymnal closings with χαῖρε ('hail'), but also divine epiphanies, at which χαῖρε is the standard greeting:[313]

[305] See Bulloch 1985a: 151. Cf. McKay 1962a: 67–8 for the possible alterations to established myth here.
[306] This accounts for his omniscience, cf. Harder 1992: 390 n. 27.
[307] So Cameron 1995: 439.
[308] Cf. for disclaimers of moral responsibility Bulloch 1985a: 161–2 and Bundy 1972: 66, e.g. Arat. 637 and A.R. 4.984f. But such a function is only implicit in *H.* 5, whereas it is explicit in these parallels. See further Morrison 2005: 45.
[309] As Haslam 1993: 125 emphasises.
[310] Cf. Bulloch 1985a: 244, who compares this 'real' appearance with the illusory appearances earlier in the hymn (e.g. vv. 3, 33, 43, 55).
[311] See Haslam 1993: 124–5. [312] See Haslam 1993: 125 n. 31. [313] Cf. Bulloch 1985a: 256.

χαῖρε θεά, κάδευ δ᾽ Ἄργεος Ἰναχίω.
χαῖρε καὶ ἐξελάοισα, καὶ ἐς πάλιν αὖτις ἐλάσσαις
ἵππως, καὶ Δαναῶν κλᾶρον ἅπαντα σάω.

Hail, goddess, and look after Inachian Argos.
Hail both when you drive out, and when you drive back again
your horses, and keep safe the Danaans' whole estate. (vv. 140–2)

Athena's arrival calls to mind the warning to Πελασγέ ('man of Argos') in vv. 51ff.:

ὅς κεν ἴδῃ γυμνὰν τὰν Παλλάδα τὰν πολιοῦχον,
τῶργος ἐσοψεῖται τοῦτο πανυστάτιον.

Whichever man looks on city-guarding Pallas when she is naked,
will look on Argos here for the very last time. (vv. 53–4)

While it is true that the mythic *exemplum* of Teiresias and the epithet γυμνάν ('naked') make explicit only that men were banned from the bath as opposed to the procession,[314] hence opening up the possibility of 'Callimachus' looking upon the still-clothed statue of Athena in safety, given our complete ignorance of the actual rite described, possibly invented by Callimachus,[315] we should not assume the statue was clothed until it reached the river. In any case, the role of the narrator as 'master of ceremonies', and the constant address to females, still raise the question of how 'Callimachus' could be witnessing such a festival. The ambiguity of the narrator between priestess and 'poet' extends to ambiguity in the apparent function of the narrative. It follows (in vv. 57ff.) closely on the warning about unintentional male sight of Athena, and as such we might naturally take it as a 'cautionary tale'.[316] But it is explicitly addressed and told to *females* – ταῖσδε ('these women', v. 56). The παῖδες ('children') of v. 57, an expression which again figures the narrator as a more senior 'master of ceremonies', are the λωτροχόοι ('bath-pourers') of the ceremony (a cautionary tale to those who cannot offend?). We might interpret this as implying there are no males present even at the procession, so that the warning to men would be a ritual warding off of the profane (cf. ἑκὰς ἑκὰς ὅστις ἀλιτρός, 'far away, far away, whoever is sinful', *H.* 2.2), not directed at men actually present (so too perhaps the command to the ὑδροφόροι in vv. 45ff. – are we to imagine women present qua water-carriers?). But this would make a male narrator, 'Callimachus', more

[314] Cf. Bulloch 1985a: 11. [315] See Hunter 1992: 14.
[316] Cf., e.g., Bulloch 1985a: 163, Harder 2004: 70.

paradoxical still. How could such a narrator tell his tale to an audience of women at a festival where there are no men, and also witness the epiphany of the goddess implied in vv. 140–2, described in a way which closely parallels the offence of Teiresias in the narrator's tale and his earlier warnings to Argive men? Hence the warning in vv. 51–4, and the myth which follows, point to the speaker and (his/her) sex. In this respect, narrator reflects characters, as sexually ambiguous characters are prominent in the myth the narrator tells.

Perhaps appropriately for a story for παῖδες ('children'), the myth begins in folktale fashion, 'once upon a time there was a nymph in Thebes whom Athena loved': Ἀθαναία νύμφαν μίαν ἔν ποκα Θήβαις | . . . φίλατο (vv. 57–8). This sort of characteristic one might take as indicative of naïve, perhaps female, narrative.[317] In any case, the narrator immediately focuses on Chariclo, whose psychology is a central subject of interest, and the relationship with Athena which brings her grief. There is extensive repetition of this friendship in the opening section of the myth (vv. 57–9, 65–7, 69),[318] and the length devoted to this aspect, in contrast to the briefer description of the blinding itself, is akin to Archaic unusual narrative emphasis.[319]

The leisurely pace continues when the narrator tells the myth proper (ποκα, 'once upon a time', again in v. 70), the fateful meeting with Teiresias. The narrator builds up the atmosphere of the scene of Athena and Chariclo bathing through repetitive, unemotional description (vv. 71–4) of place which 'enacts the monotony of the sultriness' of the midday heat on Helicon:[320]

> μεσαμβρινὰ δ᾽ εἶχ᾽ ὄρος ἀσυχία.
> ἀμφότεραι λώοντο, μεσαμβριναὶ δ᾽ ἔσαν ὧραι,
> πολλὰ δ᾽ ἀσυχία τᾶνο κατεῖχεν ὄρος.
>
> A midday peace held the hill.
> Both were washing, and the hour was midday,
> and a great peace had hold of that hill. (vv. 72–4)

The tone becomes slightly more emotional when Teiresias arrives, described as ἄρτι γένεια | περκάζων ('just darkening on his cheeks', vv. 75–6), the place as ἰερόν ('holy', v. 76). The next two lines draw more attention still to the narrator:

[317] Cf. Griffiths 1988: 233 on *H.* 6.41 'τίς μοι καλὰ δένδρεα κόπτει;'~ 'who's been eating my porridge?'.
[318] See further Depew 1994: 423–4. [319] See pp. 7–9 above. [320] So Bulloch 1985a: 177.

διψάσας δ᾽ ἄφατόν τι ποτὶ ῥόον ἤλυθε κράνας,
σχέτλιος· οὐκ ἐθέλων δ᾽ εἶδε τὰ μὴ θεμιτά·

Unspeakably thirsty he came to the spring's stream,
wretched – unwillingly he saw what is not permitted. (vv. 77–8)

Here we have more emotional language – ἄφατόν τι ('unspeakably', surely focalised by the thirsty Teiresias, the nearest he gets to speaking) and in particular the narrator's exclamation σχέτλιος ('wretched'), usually confined to characters' speeches in Homer.[321] The narrator concentrates on the consequences of the blinding rather than the incident itself,[322] which is related first in Athena's words. When she speaks, the myth and the hymn take a striking turn, so that *H.* 5 becomes one of the boldest Callimachean experiments with tone and the problems in portraying the gods.[323] We have not been prepared by the hymn for the level of brutality in Athena's words to Chariclo, not even by the foreshadowing of the latter's misery (v. 68):

'τίς σε, τὸν ὀφθαλμὼς οὐκέτ᾽ ἀποισόμενον,
ὦ Εὐηρείδα, χαλεπὰν ὁδὸν ἄγαγε δαίμων;'

'Which god, child of Eueres, never to take back your eyes,
led you on this hard road?' (vv. 80–1)

Even before she has formally addressed Teiresias with his patronymic (which prompts us to think about his other parent, next to Athena), Athena describes him as now forever blind, an oblique but startling way of conveying the blinding.[324] She asks which δαίμων ('god') has led him here, which makes her sound oddly like a Homeric mortal, unable to tell which divinity is responsible for particular actions (e.g. Odysseus, *Od.* 9.381 θάρσος ἐνέπνευσεν μέγα δαίμων, 'a god breathed in great courage').[325] This makes the blinding seem something which could not be avoided, and beyond Athena's control, which suits her attitude in her speech of self-defence at vv. 97ff., but also casts her in a peculiar light.

The narrator then mentions Teiresias' blindness in terms which recall death – παιδὸς δ᾽ ὄμματα νὺξ ἔλαβεν ('night took the child's eyes', v. 82).[326] Chariclo's address to Teiresias also sounds as if he is dead – οὐκ ἀέλιον πάλιν ὄψεαι ('you will never see the sun again', v. 89), as does the narrator's description of her as γοερᾶν οἶτον ἀηδονίδων | ἄγε βαρὺ

[321] Cf. pp. 91–2 above. [322] Cf. Bulloch 1985a: 178. [323] Cf. Morrison 2005.
[324] Cf. Bulloch 1985a: 188: 'abrupt and coldly precise'.
[325] Contrast the omniscience in this regard of the Homeric narrator and the gods (Griffin 1986: 36).
[326] This recalls Homeric descriptions of death such as ὄσσε κελαινὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψεν, 'black night covered his eyes', e.g. *Il.* 5.310 (Bulloch 1985a: 190).

κλαίοισα ('weeping deeply she began the lament of grieving nightingales', vv. 94–5).[327] This anticipates the parallel tale of Actaeon, who *is* killed after a similar encounter, and effectively conveys the level of grief of Chariclo. Her challenge to Athena (vv. 85–92) is emotional and psychologically convincing, if rhetorically able (e.g. the expanding tricolon in vv. 89–90), but we should not interpret this as undermining the force of the passage.[328] She upbraids Athena directly (vv. 85–7) on the grounds of abuse of their friendship, addresses her stricken son (τέκνον ἄλαστε, 'woeful child', v. 87), exclaims to herself (v. 89), and then challenges Helicon itself (vv. 90ff.). The quick succession of addressees ending in the mountain, as if it was responsible for blinding Teiresias as compensation for hunted animals (vv. 91–2), fits in well with someone trying to make sense of what has just happened.[329]

The narrator tells us that Athena is moved by pity for Chariclo (θεὰ δ' ἐλέησεν ἑταίραν, 'the goddess pitied her companion', v. 95), flagging her response as a *consolatio*. But though Athena employs many of the stock arguments of the *consolatio*,[330] she begins by defending herself. Is it not odd for a god to be placed in the dock in her own hymn? McKay argues as if Callimachus means *H.* 5, in part at least, as a justification of Athena.[331] But it is remarkable to find such a defence in the goddess' own words. Having implied that the event was caused by a malign force she cannot identify, Athena now explicitly claims she was not responsible (ἐγὼ δ' οὔ τοι τέκνον ἔθηκε ἀλαόν, 'I was not the one who made your child blind', v. 98), because Κρόνιοι δ' ὧδε λέγοντι νόμοι ('it is written thus in the laws of Cronus', v. 100). The legalistic tone of Athena's self-defence continues:[332]

> ὅς κε τιν' ἀθανάτων, ὅκα μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἕληται,
> ἀθρήσῃ, μισθῶ τοῦτον ἰδεῖν μεγάλω.
>
> Whosoever looks upon one of the gods, when the god does not choose,
> will see the god at a great price. (vv. 101–2)

Athena tactlessly uses the word ἰδεῖν ('see') here, but this is nothing compared to what follows. When Athena is supposed to be consoling her companion, whom she loves and pities, she does so in strikingly grotesque

[327] Cf. Bulloch 1985a: 198, 206. [328] See, however, Hutchinson 1988: 36.
[329] See Bulloch 1985a: 194.
[330] See Haslam 1993: 122. Her arguments include: what has been done cannot be undone (vv. 103–4), Fate was responsible (vv. 104–5), things could have been worse (vv. 105ff.), the situation is not all bad (vv. 119ff.)
[331] See McKay 1962a: 75. [332] Bulloch 1985a: 212: 'formally legalistic', with parallels.

fashion.[333] She prophesies the parallel fate of Actaeon, predicting the offerings his parents will burn παῖδα … τυφλὸν ἰδέσθαι ('to see their son blind', v. 109), suitably riddling for a prophecy,[334] but also repeating the tactless use of 'seeing' to a mother whose son is recently blind. And when she predicts Actaeon's death, to be dismembered by his own dogs (v. 115), she adds that τὰ δ᾽ υἱέος ὀστέα μάτηρ | λεξεῖται δρυμὼς πάντας ἐπερχομένα ('his mother will collect the bones of her son, traversing all the bushes', vv. 115–16), and that Actaeon's parents will call Chariclo ὀλβίσταν ('most blessed') and εὐαίωνα ('happy', v. 117). This is, as Haslam describes it, 'sick'.[335]

Though the account of Teiresias' compensation (vv. 119–36) mitigates (to a degree) the inappropriateness of the *exemplum* and Athena's telling of it, the *consolatio* is supposed to be poor, and the narrator tells us why in vv. 134–5:

> μάτηρ δ᾽ οὔτις ἔτικτε θεάν,
> ἀλλὰ Διὸς κορυφά.
>
> No mother gave birth to the goddess,
> it was the head of Zeus.

Chariclo's maternal emotions are doubly alien to Athena, who neither has nor is a mother, hence she cannot console Chariclo adequately for her son's blindness.[336] The undermining of the god being hymned gives this part of the hymn a novel and disruptive tone, and raises questions about the tone elsewhere, and about the hymn's 'seriousness'. While it is clear that Callimachus has toned down some of the more savage aspects of Pherecydes' version of the story, such as Athena blinding Teiresias ταῖς χερσί ('with her hands', [Apollodorus] 3.6.7 = *FGrHist* I 3.92a), the manner in which what remains is presented is clearly meant to startle and disrupt. This disruption and experimenting with the presentation of gods extends to Athena's sex and sexuality.[337]

Teiresias sees Athena naked, and Chariclo describes this as some (sexual) compensation:[338] εἶδες Ἀθαναίας στήθεα καὶ λαγόνας, | ἀλλ᾽ … ('you saw Athena's breasts and loins, but …', vv. 88–9). This sort of description, and the male intrusion upon female nudity, is incongruous when applied

[333] Cf. Morrison 2005: 36–8. [334] Cf. Hunter 1992: 28. [335] Haslam 1993: 123.
[336] Cf. Bulloch 1985a: 52, Hopkinson 1988: 121.
[337] See Morrison 2005 for a fuller treatment of the question of Athena's sex etc.
[338] See Hunter 1992: 25.

to Athena,[339] and much more appropriate to Artemis and Actaeon.[340] As Haslam argues against Bulloch,[341] the roles of goddess and hunter in *H.* 5 are 'custom-made' for Artemis and Actaeon, and 'creakingly uncomfortable' for Athena and Teiresias. The fact that *H.* 5 is the earliest extant example of the bath of Artemis is coincidental.[342] The hymn has stressed Athena's manliness:[343] she has 'great arms' (v. 5), does not use mirrors (vv. 17ff.), runs 'twice sixty double courses' (v. 23),[344] and anoints herself with 'manly . . . olive oil' (v. 29), as do those archetypes of masculinity, Castor and Heracles (v. 30).[345] This masculine Athena, of course, is not confined to Callimachus.[346]

Athena's observer is also sexually ambiguous. The more common version of the blinding of Teiresias has him blinded by Hera for his view of which sex enjoyed sexual intercourse more, because he had been both man and woman, and his initial change of sex took place after disturbing two snakes coupling (Hesiod, fr. 275 M.–W.).[347] In *H.* 5 he sees not only Athena naked, the masculine warrior-goddess, but also presumably his own mother (λυσαμένα ('they removed [the pins of their robes]', dual, v. 70; λῶντο, 'they were washing', v. 72). This, and the sexually ambiguous parties involved, make this situation very different from the usual (probably original) version of the Actaeon myth with sexually aggressive male and feminine virgin huntress. The ambiguity as to the sex of the narrator also marks this change.

[339] The words used to describe what Teiresias sees are significant: στήθεα normally denotes in prose writers the chest (male or female), rather than the breasts (Bulloch 1985a: 198), while λαγόνας recalls the flanks of Athena's horses in v. 6 (Depew 1994: 424 n. 73). Such a description would be as appropriate of a male as a female body (Loraux 1995: 218 n. 31).

[340] Cf. Depew 1993: 68.

[341] Haslam 1993: 124, following Wilamowitz 1924: II.23, Bulloch 1985a: 19–25.

[342] See Lacy 1990 for a convincing case that there was a pre-Callimachean 'bath of Artemis' on which Callimachus is drawing.

[343] Cf. Griffiths 1988: 232, Depew 1993: 68–9, Depew 1994: 418–22.

[344] I.e. forty-eight kilometres – Griffiths 1988: 232.

[345] See however, Bulloch 1985a: 131–9 for the view that vv. 23–8 on Athena's beauty allude to Theocritus 18.22–32 (where Helen's friends praise her beauty, run by the Eurotas and anoint themselves 'like men' (v. 23)) and vv. 31–2 (Athena glowing like a rose or pomegranate) to *Il.* 14.175ff. (Hera preparing to seduce Zeus), so that Athena is a sexually attractive and beautiful female athlete. But these allusions, in the context of the description of her massive arms and gigantic running, contrive only to make her seem more masculine still when compared to the feminine beauty of Artemis, Helen and Hera.

[346] Cf. A. *Eu.* 737–8, and Loraux 1995: 216 with n. 23, who cites D.L. 2.116, where Theodorus wonders whether it was by lifting Athena's dress that Stilpon confirmed her female sex.

[347] See in general on the different versions of the Teiresias myth Brisson 1976: 11–77. For Teiresias as a 'mediator' across boundaries, e.g. male and female, cf. Brisson 2002: 115.

Is the hymn, then, 'serious', whether as an attack on the coherence of traditional religion and its values (e.g. through the problematic, wronged but uncompensated, Chariclo),[348] or a more straightforward hymn of praise,[349] or is it an example of an attitude to myth similar to our own, myth as 'narrative pabulum'?[350] The difficulties in answering these questions are to some extent caused by the terms in which they are phrased. We should not import modern views of the tone or manner in which we should approach or describe religion (i.e. 'serious', with little room for humour, still less parody) to Hellenistic religion.[351] One could treat this hymn, along with Callimachus' *Hymns* in general, as an index of changes in attitude, which does not, however, *document* the precise changes involved, which can have a much wider range than rejection, disbelief or even criticism.[352] Regarding myth as a storehouse of narrative open for experimentation and innovation need not exclude a commitment to the deities involved qua deities rather than characters in narrative. The passages in *H.* 5 pointing to the odd nature of Athena's femininity, and her grotesque *consolatio*, are consistent with aspects of the goddess herself – her pseudo-masculinity, and lack of any connection with motherhood. More problematic, perhaps, is her speech of self-defence. But we can explain this too as an indication of the impossibility of accounting for some actions or events, beyond an ascription to δαίμων – even gods' mythological proxies are incapable of such explanation. Such views *can* be combined with humour, irony, even parody, and with 'belief' in traditional religion and its 'values'.[353] Many think that Ovid cannot have meant the 'serious' passages in the *Metamorphoses* (e.g. the creation myth in book 1, the speech of Pythagoras in book 15) as such, given their juxtaposition with myths showing the gods and their offspring in the worst possible light,[354] but the juxtaposition itself should perhaps point us to the complexities of attitude and tone we find in ancient religion as well as ancient literature (and to the inadequacy of the categories 'serious' etc.).

H. 5 is concerned most of all with seeing Athena – when the goddess is going to appear to the celebrants, who in Argos is or is not allowed to see the statue, why Teiresias was punished.[355] The language of 'seeing' or representation runs throughout the hymn (e.g. Athena's tactless and punning use of the verb 'to see' in her *consolatio* to Chariclo), and the hymn is

[348] Cf. Bulloch 1984: 228–9. [349] Cf., e.g., Heath, J. 1988. [350] Griffiths 1988: 232.
[351] See Hunter 1992: 29–34. Cf. also on this and related dichotomies such as sacred/secular and religious/literary Easterling 1985, Feeney 1998: 1–2, 24–5.
[352] Cf. Hunter 1992: 32–4. [353] See, however, Bulloch 1984: 229. [354] See, e.g., Coleman 1971.
[355] See Morrison 2005: 43–6 for a fuller examination of issues of representing Athena in *H.* 5.

full of 'representations' of Athena – her statue, her mythic self blinding Teiresias, the hymn itself depicting Athena in Argos. But such representations are inevitably partial and selective – they cannot capture every element of a god. While the manly Athena of the myth in *H.* 5 is in many ways built up from pre-existing characteristics of the goddess in myth and cult,[356] much is doubtless left out.[357] The statue of Athena, and the Athena of Argos, about whom we hear in the mimetic frame, is also only one version of the goddess. Callimachus is advertising a problem which all those who hymn or sculpt the gods need to acknowledge: 'Divinity is ultimately incommensurate with *any* form of human representation.'[358]

Hymn *6*

Hymn 6 is clearly meant to form a pair with *Hymn* 5, the two sharing several striking correspondences.[359] Consequently, critics have thought their respective narrators very similar: a 'narrating Voice, combining indefinably the roles of devotee, "master of ceremonies" and poet'.[360] However, far from being 'nebulous and uncharacterised',[361] the voice of *H.* 6 is much more unified than that of *H.* 5, without its ambiguity about the speaker's sex, or its blending of master of ceremonies and 'Callimachus'. The voice of *H.* 6 is definitely female,[362] a celebrant at a Demeter festival, and portrayed as strongly 'moralising' and emotional, using various Archaic texts and models to effect this. The narration of the myth also shows characteristics consistent with this voice, though, as we might expect in Callimachus, we also find tensions and contradictions in the hymn.

The address to uninitiated women in vv. 4–6, and the mention of fasting, which recalls the second day of the women-only Thesmophoria, establish the female context:

> μηδ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶ τέγεος μηδ᾽ ὑψόθεν αὐγάσσησθε
> μὴ παῖς μηδὲ γυνὰ μηδ᾽ ἃ κατεχεύατο χαίταν,
> μηδ᾽ ὅκ᾽ ἀφ᾽ αὐαλέων στομάτων πτύωμες ἄπαστοι.
>
> Do not from the roof or from on high look on it,
> not girl nor woman nor she with hair unbound,
> nor when from dry mouths we spit, fasting.

[356] Cf. Depew 1993: 67–8. [357] See Bulloch 1985a: 20–2, Depew 1994: 421–2.
[358] Feeney 1998: 98. [359] See Hopkinson 1984a: 13–16, Heyworth 2004: 153–7.
[360] Hopkinson 1984a: 13. [361] Hopkinson 1984a: 3.
[362] See McKay 1962a: 119, Bing 1995a.

Throughout the hymn only women are addressed,[363] and the first-person verbs are all plural, including the speaker together with the women addressed, most revealingly in v. 124 – ἀπεδίλωτοι καὶ ἀνάμπυκες ἄστυ πατεῦμες ('without sandals and without headbands we walk the city') – where the ἄμπυκες are headbands typically worn by women.[364] Further indications of the feminised narrator include the similes of the lioness in vv. 50–2 and the doll in the sun in vv. 91–2, the narrator's questions to the mothers at vv. 10ff. and v. 83, the description of Erysichthon as παῖς ('child', v. 56) even at his most savage, the periphrasis for his wet-nurse in v. 95, and his being lamented by women at vv. 94–5.[365] So thoroughly female is the setting that even the horses in v. 120 are female (αἱ . . . ἵπποι, 'the mares').

We should also see what one critic describes as the 'primitive folktale character' of the myth in terms of the female voice of the hymn.[366] The narrative is lacking in erudite parentheses, in contrast to much Callimachean narrative, and devices such as 'they say' statements, often marking a 'scholarly' narrator's dependence on or knowledge of tradition, are here employed in Homeric vein, along with a superlative in a statement about the natural world (λέαινα | ὠμοτόκος, τᾶς φαντὶ πέλειν βλοσυρώτατον ὄμμα, 'a lioness just having given birth, which they say has the fiercest look', vv. 51–2, cf. *Il.* 17.674, also about animal sight). Furthermore, Erysichthon's companions have superhuman strength – ἀνδρογίγαντας ὅλαν πόλιν ἀρκίος ἆραι ('man-giants enough to lift an entire city', v. 34) – and Demeter arrives on the scene in classic folktale fashion – 'τίς μοι καλὰ δένδρεα κόπτει;' ('"who is cutting down my beautiful trees?"', v. 41).[367] The similar Coan folktale of 'Myrmidonia and Pharaonia' conveniently demonstrates the affinities of the narrative of *H.* 6 to a folktale.[368]

There are, of course, subtle allusions in *H.* 6 to earlier literature, e.g. Homer.[369] But we should attribute these to the *implied author* rather than the narrator. We should not think of these allusions as those of the female narrator, consciously introducing Homeric reminiscences into her speech at the Thesmophoria, but as pointing to the scholarship of the

[363] Cf. Bing 1995a: 34 n. 24. [364] Cf. Bing 1995a: 34.
[365] For these suggestions see Bing 1995a: 35–6.
[366] McKay 1962b: 7. [367] See Griffiths 1988: 233 and p. 164 above.
[368] Cf. Dawkins 1950: 334–40 for 'Myrmidonia and Pharaonia', and also Hopkinson 1984a: 26–30.
[369] Cf. Hopkinson 1984a: 5–6 on the description of an Odyssean *locus amoenus* in vv. 26ff. followed by the Iliadic violence of Erysichthon and his companions armed πελέκεσσι καὶ ἀξίναισιν ('with axes and hatchets', v. 35), borrowed from *Il.* 15.711.

author. This is one way to reconcile the views of critics who would attribute the geographical oddities in vv. 13ff. (Demeter thrice crossing Achelous and the ever-flowing rivers) to the 'primitive knowledge' of the female narrator,[370] and those who regard this as a learned puzzle.[371] Such a statement can simultaneously characterise the narrator as geographically uncertain, but the author as constructing a riddle. Callimachus can use the large gap between author and narrator in *H.* 6 to produce jarring effects, as we shall see, as when Demeter sounds like the 'Callimachus' of the *Aetia* (*H.* 6.63~ *Aet.* fr. 75. 4 Pf.).[372]

The mimetic nature of *H.* 6 is clear from the beginning where the narrator instructs the γυναῖκες ('women', v. 1) to say 'Δάματερ μέγα χαῖρε πολυτρόφε πουλυμέδιμνε' ('"Bountiful and much-producing Demeter, greatly hail"', v. 2), indicating the scene is a Demeter festival and the speaker a celebrant there. This convenient quotation of the refrain also reveals the fictionality of the situation, designed to convey the setting to the audience or reader. The same phrase is repeated in v. 119, again in another instruction (v. 118), which resumes the mimetic frame after the conclusion of the myth. After this resumption we get much more detail about the ceremony and scene, where four white horses carry the basket (vv. 120–1), the women walk barefoot and with hair loose through the city (v. 124), the uninitiated are able to go as far as the πρυτανήια ('town hall', v. 128), and the old and pregnant need only go as far as they can (vv. 130–2). The setting seems to be the Thesmophoria,[373] but the location is not revealed to us, in contrast to *H.* 2 and *H.* 5. Attempts to locate the hymn in a particular city have not been successful and seem misguided.[374]

H. 6 is also different from the other mimetic hymns in tone – no breathless excitement conveyed by asyndeton and short sentences, but anaphora, parallel clauses and largely end-stopped opening and closing lines, producing the feeling of 'weariness'.[375] But there are still several features which mimic a spontaneous and authentic speech at a festival, such as the use of deictic articles in vv. 1–4 (τῶ καλάθω . . . | . . . | τὸν κάλαθον . . . | . . . τῶ τέγεος, 'the basket . . . the basket . . . the roof'), which portray the narrator as seeing these objects before her.[376] The progression of thought in vv. 7ff. also resembles patterns of ordinary speech:

[370] E.g. Howald 1943: 56. [371] See Hunter 1992: 20 with n. 3, Griffiths 1988: 233.
[372] Cf. pp. 103, 106 above. [373] See Hopkinson 1984a: 35–6.
[374] Cf. Hopkinson 1984a: 37–9. Suggestions include Cyrene, e.g. Bacchielli 1990: 25, Pretagostini 1991: 259–61.
[375] So Hopkinson 1984a: 16. [376] Cf. Williams 1978: 21–2, Hopkinson 1984a: 77.

Ἕσπερος ἐκ νεφέων ἐσκέψατο (πανίκα νεῖται;),
Ἕσπερος, ὅσ τε πιεῖν Δαμάτερα μῶνος ἔπεισεν,
ἁρπαγίμας ὅκ' ἄπυστα μετέστιχεν ἴχνια κώρας.

Hesperus just peeked through the clouds (when is it coming?),
Hesperus, the only one to convince Demeter to drink,
when she followed the unknown footsteps of her daughter who was stolen away.

Hesperus marking the time of the coming of the basket leads to Hesperus' role in consoling Demeter, which in turn leads on (in vv. 10ff.) to the grief of Demeter at the loss of Persephone. The implied 'that reminds me' has certain affinities with 'associative transitions into myth' in Pindar, which he can use to create the impression of an extemporising speaker.[377] The break-off at v. 17 is also pseudo-spontaneous.

Most strikingly, however, Callimachus characterises the narrator as strongly moralising, emotional and judgemental. This may be related to her being female, but in any case demonstrates extensive use of Archaic 'moral' voices. The narrator sympathises with Demeter in vv. 10ff. by addressing her, and in the same vein declares μὴ μὴ ταῦτα λέγωμες ἃ δάκρυον ἄγαγε Δηοῖ ('no, no, let's not talk about these things which made Demeter weep', v. 17). This also recalls, however, break-offs in order to avoid transgression, such as Pindar *O.* 9.35ff. (ἀπό μοι λόγον | τοῦτον, στόμα, ῥῖψον, 'mouth, throw this story away from me').[378] The narrative which the narrator finally tells is explicitly cautionary (contrast *H.* 5), ἵνα καί τις ὑπερβασίας ἀλέηται ('so people avoid transgressing', v. 22).[379] This recalls the last line of Hesiod's *Works and Days* (v. 828), on the happy man ὄρνιθας κρίνων καὶ ὑπερβασίας ἀλεείνων ('distinguishing bird signs and avoiding transgression').[380] The myth ends with a moralising couplet reminiscent of *Op.* 346–8 on the κακὸς γείτων ('bad neighbour'):[381]

> Δάματερ, μὴ τῆνος ἐμὶν φίλος, ὅς τοι ἀπεχθής,
> εἴη μηδ' ὁμότοιχος· ἐμοὶ κακογείτονες ἐχθροί.
>
> Demeter, don't let any man you hate be my friend,
> nor let him share a wall with me: I hate evil neighbours. (vv. 116–17)

[377] Cf. Miller 1993: 26–7 and pp. 71–2 above.
[378] Cf. Fuhrer 1988: 62–6 and pp. 68–9 above.
[379] See Bulloch 1977: 98–101.
[380] See West 1969a: 8, Hopkinson 1984a: 99, Hunter 1992: 30 with n. 59.
[381] See Hunter 1992: 30 with n. 59, Reinsch-Werner 1976: 372.

The language in which the myth is told is strongly 'moral' and judgemental throughout. The craft taught to Triptolemus is ἀγαθάν ('good', v. 21), Erysichthon's counsel is χείρων ('worse', v. 32), his companions are ἀναιδέες ('shameless', v. 36). He himself is described as a κακὸν καὶ ἀναιδέα φῶτα ('evil and shameless man', v. 45), and his speech is κακάν ('evil', v. 56). Demeter is angry ἄφατόν τι ('unspeakably', v. 57), and similarly Erysichthon is βαρύν ('angry', v. 62). Demeter devises πονηρά ('wicked things', v. 65) for him, and his resulting hunger is χαλεπόν ('cruel') and ἄγριον ('savage', v. 66). So wretched is his situation that the narrator calls him σχέτλιος ('wretched', v. 68) and describes him as δειλαίῳ ('sorry', v. 93). His stomach is also κακά ('evil', v. 88), and his situation a κακόν ('evil', v. 112). Such vocabulary, avoided by the Homeric narrator, is reminiscent of the moralising persona of Archaic elegy and *iambos*, as well as the *Works and Days* and Pindaric epinicians.[382]

But Callimachus employs this involved narrator, reacting to and judging her own narrative, to produce strange effects. Erysichthon begins the myth as a *contemptor divum*,[383] a companion of giants (v. 34, quoted above) who has a look fiercer than that of a lioness (vv. 50–2) and someone who threatens Demeter, disguised as a priestess, with death (χάζευ . . . μή τοι πέλεκυν μέγαν ἐν χροΐ πάξω, 'Back! Or else I shall plant my great axe in your body', v. 53). But at the very moment when he damns himself out of his own mouth he is described as a child:

> εἶπεν ὁ παῖς, Νέμεσις δὲ κακὰν ἐγράψατο φωνάν.
>
> So said the child, and Nemesis recorded his evil words. (v. 56)

We should not rationalise this shift as implying that Erysichthon is a giant child,[384] but interpret it as an example of privileging the expression of emotion over consistency of character.[385] The narrator expresses her sympathy for Erysichthon, despite his savagery, and it is tempting to take this as an indication of her sex. Further sympathy is expressed by σχέτλιος, ὅσσα πάσαιτο τόσων ἔχεν ἵμερος αὖτις ('wretched man, as much as he ate, he wanted as much again') in v. 68.[386] But at this point another shift occurs – in the following lines the narrator's concern seems to be the logistics of

[382] Cf. pp. 91–9 above.
[383] Cf. Gutzwiller 1981: 40. This picture of Erysichthon as a 'one who scorns the gods' is taken up and expanded, but not invented, by Ovid in *Met.* 8.
[384] So McKay 1962b: 72, 93–4.
[385] For a similar privileging of other aims in the *Argonautica* see Hunter 1987: 129–34 on Medea, 1993a: 12–15 on Jason.
[386] See Gutzwiller 1981: 44.

feeding Erysichthon's ravening hunger (εἴκατι δαῖτα πένοντο, δυώδεκα δ᾽ οἶνον ἄφυσσον, 'twenty prepared his meal, twelve poured his wine', v. 69) and then the social embarrassment of his parents (αἰδόμενοι γονέες, 'his parents were ashamed', v. 73). After a catalogue of the excuses Erysichthon's mother has to employ, the narrator addresses her sympathetically:

> δειλαία φιλότεκνε, τί δ᾽ οὐκ ἐψεύσαο, μᾶτερ;
>
> Poor mother who loved her child, what lie did you not tell? (v. 83)

But this sympathy is as much for the social discomfort the situation causes her as the state of her son.[387] Alongside this shift the mood alters from that which the numinous epiphany of Demeter creates (Δαμάτηρ δ᾽ ἄφατόν τι κοτέσσατο, γείνατο δ᾽ ἃ θεύς·| ἴθματα μὲν χέρσω, κεφαλὰ δέ οἱ ἅψατ᾽ Ὀλύμπω, 'Demeter was unspeakably angry, and became the goddess: she walked on the ground, but her head reached Olympus', vv. 57–8) to one of 'delicate social comedy'.[388] But it is important to recognise the variety of tone in the hymn, and in the voice of the narrator – comedy of manners is not the only mode we find in *H.* 6. Indeed, even in the description of the embarrassment of Erysichthon's mother the tone is complex – her reactions are like those a 'real' mother might have at a more conventional awkwardness of a son, but this is set beside the description of the insatiable Erysichthon's appetite of superhuman proportions, which also makes him resemble the gluttonous Heracles of comedy.

The sympathetic depiction of Erysichthon's family and household grieving for him (vv. 94–5), and the impassioned but vain appeal of Triopas to his father Poseidon (οὐκ ἀίοντα, 'he did not hear', v. 97), who would rather his son was dead (αἴθε γὰρ αὐτὸν | βλητὸν ὑπ᾽ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐμαὶ χέρες ἐκτερέϊξαν, 'would that my hands had buried him, struck down by Apollo', vv. 100–1), are themselves undercut by a catalogue of Erysichthon's effect on the household livestock:

> ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐρῆας μεγαλᾶν ὑπέλυσαν ἁμαξᾶν,
> καὶ τὰν βῶν ἔφαγεν, τὰν Ἑστίᾳ ἔτρεφε μάτηρ,
> καὶ τὸν ἀεθλοφόρον καὶ τὸν πολεμήιον ἵππον,
> καὶ τὰν μάλουριν, τὰν ἔτρεμε θηρία μικκά.
>
> But even the mules they released from the great wagons,
> and he ate the cow which his mother was rearing for Hestia,

[387] Cf. Gutzwiller 1981: 45. [388] Hollis 1970: 133. Cf. also Depew 1993: 70–2.

> and the prize-winning horse and the war-horse,
> and the mouse-catcher, which terrified the small beasts. (vv. 107–10)

Hopkinson comments that this list of animals and the repetition of καί 'have of themselves no hint of jocularity',[389] but following the preceding pathos they puncture the atmosphere. This deflating effect must mean that the speech ends at v. 106,[390] and that the narrator speaks vv. 107–10.[391]

The most striking change of tone, however, is that at the very end of the myth. Erysichthon is begging at a crossroads:

> καὶ τόχ' ὁ τῶ βασιλῆος ἐνὶ τριόδοισι καθῆστο
> αἰτίζων ἀκόλως τε καὶ ἔκβολα λύματα δαιτός.
>
> And then the son of the king sat at the crossroads,
> begging for scraps and the cast-off rubbish of the feast. (vv. 114–15)

This recalls the beggar Odysseus of the second half of the *Odyssey*, and there are close verbal parallels to *Od.* 17.219–22, where Melantheus addresses Eumaeus, mocking Odysseus.[392] But a king's son begging also calls to mind Andromache's vision of the fate of Astyanax in *Il.* 22.487ff., where she imagines him trying to obtain scraps from his father's friends. Erysichthon's inability to satisfy himself also echoes Astyanax – χείλεα μέν τ' ἐδίην', ὑπερῴην δ' οὐκ ἐδίηνε ('he wet his lips, but not his palate', *Il.* 22.495). Aristarchus rejected this passage as unseemly, so perhaps Callimachus alluded to it because it was already controversial in his day. In any case, we should class this allusion as authorial, rather than narratorial. This pathetic picture is followed by the moralising of vv. 116–17 (quoted above). The tone of this comment, in spite of the previous sympathy shown by the narrator, is selfish and self-satisfied. McKay finds in it the 'contempt of self-righteous suburbia',[393] and the lines form something of a joke. The passage of Hesiod to which they allude (*Op.* 346ff.) stresses that bad neighbours are a plague, and that οὐδ' ἂν βοῦς ἀπόλοιτ', εἰ μὴ γείτων κακὸς εἴη ('not even an ox would die, if not for an evil neighbour', v. 348). Erysichthon, of course, is a literal threat to any neighbour's cattle.[394]

[389] Hopkinson 1984a: 108. [390] See Hopkinson 1984a: 164 for the debate.
[391] So Gutzwiller 1981: 47, though she thinks that vv. 107–10 show Triopas has lied about the exhaustion of his household, revealing him as more concerned with his estate than his son.
[392] Cf. Bulloch 1977: 108–12, Gutzwiller 1981: 48, Hopkinson 1984a: 170.
[393] McKay 1962a: 50. Cf. also Depew 1993: 70–2.
[394] Cf. Reinsch-Werner 1976: 372, Hunter 1992: 30–1.

As well as 'concretising' a passage of Hesiod, the couplet also forms an example of unusual narrative emphasis. Instead of hearing about Erysichthon's death, which would presumably have been by autophagy as in Ovid,[395] the narrator hopes his type does not move in next door. Just as the tale appears to have reached its climax, with Erysichthon resorting to λύματα δαιτός ('rubbish of the feast', v. 115), the narrative breaks off.[396] This only adds to the impression that the myth can end now that a feeling of narratorial self-satisfaction has been achieved, and also casts the preceding interest in Erysichthon's plight (both emotional and logistical) into a peculiar light. Callimachus transforms Archaic matter and manner to alter the perspective from which we must view the hymn.

As the disconcerting comment at vv. 116–17 sits awkwardly at the end of the myth, so the comment at the beginning also disturbs:

> ἀλλ' ὅκα Τριοπίδαισιν ὁ δεξιὸς ἄχθετο δαίμων,
> τουτάκις ἁ χείρων Ἐρυσίχθονος ἅψατο βωλά·
>
> But when their good genius became angry with the Triopidae,
> then a worse plan seized Erysichthon. (vv. 31–2)

This is puzzling because it seems that their 'good' δαίμων ('genius') has simply become angry with the Triopidae, thus bringing about Erysichthon's misfortune.[397] The passivity of Erysichthon and his family in the lines above, twice the objects of verbs performed by abstract nouns, is strange in a myth which is explicitly told to prevent *acts* of transgression – ἵνα . . . τις ὑπερβασίας ἀλέηται ('so people avoid transgressing', v. 22). Again this raises questions of how we should take *H.* 6.[398] Is it meant as an attack on religion, or as an expression of profound doubts, in the light of the smugness of the narrator and the apparent capriciousness of the δαίμων in v. 31?[399]

H. 6 presents us with yet more Callimachean experimentation with ways of depicting the divine – at the end the exclusivity which characterises the initiate and various Greek rituals is presented as self-satisfaction, and the observations of Hesiod on the dangers of the κακὸς γείτων as selfish. But this is hardly to expose such rituals or moralising as a 'sham'. Callimachus

[395] McKay 1962b: 124 finds intimations of such an autophagy in Callimachus, and Bulloch 1984: 222 thinks it is strongly implied by the very fact the narrative stops just before this climax (a sort of unusual narrative emphasis).

[396] See McKay 1962b: 125.

[397] Cf. Bulloch 1984: 225, Hopkinson 1984a: 108, Heyworth 2004: 155–6. Contrast the δαίμων δ' ἕτερος ('bad genius') at Pindar *P.* 3.34 which brings about Coronis' downfall.

[398] Cf. Bulloch 1984: 220–5.

[399] Cf. Depew 1993: 70–2.

brings out, in arresting fashion, the central concern with the self and the individual in much Greek ethical thought, but paradoxically this allows the reader/audience to 'become' an initiate, and participate in the ritual.[400] This would have been even more powerful if the audience, as is likely, was principally male. This is therefore a further extension of the pseudo-intimate effect of Archaic poetry, giving the audience the feeling of attendance at a closed group.[401] Here, though, the feeling is not just of eavesdropping, but of complete absorption into another sex.[402]

THE *AETIA*

Narrator, author and the prologue to the Aetia

Aetia 1–2 begin with a great many first-person statements portraying the narrator as under attack from various detractors (μοι Τελχῖνες ἐπιτρύζουσιν ἀοιδῇ, 'the Telchines squeak at my song', fr. 1.1 Pf.), and defending himself in direct speech (Τε[λ]χῖσιν ἐγὼ τόδε, 'I [said] this to the Telchines', fr. 1.7 Pf.). The first-person narrative about the past suggests autobiography (by the 'autobiographical assumption'),[403] as the narrator tells us of a youthful meeting with Apollo. Several other aspects suggest a strong connection between narrator and poet in *Aetia* 1–2. The prologue immediately focuses attention on the narrator, who never recedes into the background throughout *Aetia* 1–2 (or indeed, in a different way, in *Aetia* 3–4, where the primary narrator is not always 'Callimachus').

The fragmentary state of much of the *Aetia* complicates study of its primary narrator, and often makes certainty about the speaker impossible – I concentrate on the better-preserved sections. The interpretation of the prologue presents a different initial problem. Many scholars take the prologue to be a relatively straightforward declaration of Callimachus' aesthetics, a prescriptive manifesto to cover all his poems (and by implication all other poets' poems too).[404]

Cameron and Knox have suggested several reasons to be cautious about accepting Pfeiffer's conjecture that the prologue (fr. 1 Pf.) was added to a 'collected' edition of Callimachus' poetry, or a second edition of the poem, late in Callimachus' life.[405] 'Collected' editions, Cameron argues, are impossible while texts are in the form of papyrus rolls, except in so far as

[400] Cf. Bing 1995a: 37. [401] Cf. pp. 41 and 110–11 above.
[402] Cf. Bing 1995a: 37–42. [403] See p. 31 above.
[404] See, e.g., Brink 1946, Pfeiffer 1968 and Lyne 1984.
[405] See Knox 1985, Cameron 1995: 104–32. For Pfeiffer's conjecture see Pfeiffer 1928: 339.

they are kept in the same box.[406] New prefaces to every other ancient continuation of an earlier work are added to the added books, not the whole work, e.g. in the case of the *Ars amatoria*, where there is merely a new preface, a couplet linking *Ars* 2 and the new book, where the new section is added.[407] *Aetia* 3–4 would, on this view, be a continuation of the *Aetia*, added at a later date, analogous to the continuation of the *Ars amatoria* through the addition of book 3, and implying no alteration of the original work, just as *Ars* 3 does not lead Ovid to remove the couplet linking *Ars* 1 and 2, which implies two books, or book 2's elaborate concluding section.

It seems more likely, then, that the prologue is not 'late'. We cannot take it straightforwardly as a product of the poet's old age,[408] despite the references to age in the prologue (τῶν δ' ἐτέων ἡ δεκὰς οὐκ ὀλίγη, 'I have lived not a few decades', fr. 1.6 Pf.; γῆρας, 'old age', fr. 1.33 Pf.).[409] This is not primarily because poets and writers in antiquity could describe themselves or others as 'old' when much younger,[410] but because of the clear gap between narrator and author, even in such a quasi-biographical text. It is clear that a *narrator* could claim to be old, when the historical author was no such thing.[411] Archaic lyric exploits, as we have seen, the non-identity of author and narrator,[412] and Callimachus takes this up,[413] and probably makes use of the gap in the *Aetia* prologue.[414]

When we examine the prologue carefully, several indications of the disjunction between the narrator and the historical author, between 'Callimachus' and Callimachus of Cyrene, become clear. As Schmitz emphasises, 'Callimachus' can converse directly with mythical wizards, the Telchines (ἔλλετε Βασκανίης ὀλοὸν γένος, 'begone, Jealousy's deadly race', fr. 1.17 Pf.), and receive advice directly from Apollo (Ἀ[πό]λλων εἶπεν ὅ μοι Λύκιος, 'Lycian Apollo said to me', fr 1.22 Pf.).[415] But we should not

[406] See Cameron 1995: 109–13 and cf. Knox 1985: 61–2.

[407] Cf. Cameron 1995: 114–18, who cites also Polybius, Diodorus Siculus and Vitruvius. Cf. also on this Knox 1985: 64–5, Gibson 2000.

[408] As Pfeiffer 1928: 333 does, assuming him to be over sixty.

[409] Rostagni 1928: 5, 23–4 had already suggested this description of the aged Callimachus might be a deliberate exaggeration. Cf. Knox 1985: 60 n. 4 and Lynn 1995: n. 17 to p. 130. Lynn notes the convenient elasticity of 'age', which can be easily manipulated to suit a particular context or function – in the *Aetia* prologue the issue of age and appropriate behaviour is present in the Telchines' criticism of Callimachus' 'child-like' poetry. Cf. Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 74, who also point out the coming of old age and its attendant debility are something of a poetic *topos* (e.g. Alcman *PMGF* 26).

[410] So Cameron 1995: 174–81, citing several examples.

[411] Cf. Schmitz 1999: 159–61.

[412] See pp. 67–73 above.

[413] See Bruss 2004 on the split in the *Aetia* between the 'oralist' narrator Callimachus and the 'bookish' author Kallimachos.

[414] Cf. Schmitz 1999: 161.

[415] Cf. Schmitz 1999: 158.

conceive of these as historical but as fictional situations – the author did not really meet Apollo, nor does he really converse with wizards.[416]

But might there not be some relationship between the Telchines and real criticism of the *Aetia*? We cannot, of course, rule such a relationship out,[417] but the assumption that the prologue *must* be based on real, historical criticism is dubious. The appearance in the list of Telchines in the *Scholia Florentina* of the epigrammatists Asclepiades and Posidippus is probably because of the disagreement concerning the *Lyde* with Asclepiades (*AP* 9.63 = Antim. T14 Wyss) and Posidippus (*AP* 12.168 = Antim. T15 Wyss) on one side and Callimachus (fr. 398 Pf.) on the other.[418] The list probably does not record independent evidence about Callimachus' 'targets'.[419]

Nor is the style of the prologue better evidence for its reflecting historical criticism. The greater precision with which Callimachus depicts his opponents as compared with Archaic scenes of the 'poet under attack' (e.g. the end of *O.* 2) is an example of the greater 'concreteness' with which Hellenistic poetry treats lyric themes and *topoi*.[420] Callimachus characterises his opponents as Telchines, who have criticised him for not writing ἓν ἄεισμα διηνεκές ('one continuous song', fr. 1.3 Pf.), and replies to them at length with an injunction to judge poetry τέχνῃ |. . .] μὴ σχοίνῳ Περσίδι ('by its skill, not by the Persian measure', fr. 1.17–18 Pf.) and with a detailed account of his meeting with Apollo.

Nor does the poem work better if we assume real criticism.[421] Consideration of the function of the prologue within the *Aetia* as a whole illustrates how it forms an integral part of the elegy, without the need to refer outside the text. One of the functions, perhaps the central function, of any prologue to a speech or poem is to operate as a *captatio benevolentiae*,[422] to get the audience on one's side. This clearly applies to the *Aetia* prologue even if the prologue is a later addition composed at the same time as *Aetia* 3–4, rather than *Aetia* 1–2. This helps us better understand the form and structure of the *Aetia* prologue – the criticism of the Telchines is reported indirectly, so that they appear as shadowy grumblers, in contrast to Callimachus' open and direct speech.[423] The positive aspects

[416] Cf. Lefkowitz 1980b: 8. [417] See Schmitz 1999: 153–4.
[418] See Lefkowitz 1980b: 8–9, 1981: 124–5.
[419] See, however, Cameron 1995: 185–232, who argues that the list *does* preserve useful information on a disagreement about Antimachus' elegiac *Lyde*.
[420] Cf. pp. 136–7 above and 313 below.
[421] Cf. Hutchinson 1988: 82. [422] Cf. Schmitz 1999: 157.
[423] Cf. Lynn 1995: 136–7. The contrast between direct and indirect speech forms a good example of what Laird terms 'angled narration of dialogue' (1999: 101, 217–18).

of Callimachus' poetry are placed in the mouth of Apollo, the poet thus avoiding boastfulness,[424] while Callimachus structures his opposition to his critics by means of several pointed antitheses: the ignorant Telchines, no friends of the Muse (vv. 1–2), and Callimachus, the Muses' friend since childhood (vv. 37–8); the braying donkey and the delicate cicada (vv. 29–30); the fat victim and the delicate Muse (vv. 23–4) etc.[425] All this serves to dramatise Callimachus' situation as one where his poetry has been unjustly criticised by ignorant detractors, unaware that its qualities have been recommended to him by the god of poetry himself. These detractors are also irrational and bestial, as ἐπιτρύζουσιν ('squeak' or 'croak', fr. 1.1 Pf.) suggests, only elsewhere used of animals, and based on τρύζητε at *Il.* 9.311, describing the 'croaking' of those around Achilles.[426] There are only two sides in the prologue – these Telchines or Callimachus – and this serves to win the audience for Callimachus.

It is not important from the point of view of the rhetorical function of the lines (as a *captatio*) that they approve qualities universally desirable in all poems.[427] Given that antitheses are more effective the more polarised they are, we need not assume accuracy or truth as a principal concern here, but only dramatic/rhetorical effectiveness. It aids the drama and the force of the antitheses and oppositions to talk of Callimachus' poetry in general being under siege – ἀοιδῇ ('poetry', v. 1), σοφίην ('poetry', v. 18)[428] – but there is no need to assume therefore either that Callimachus had received or felt he would receive much criticism for the *Aetia* or that he thought all poetry should be exactly as recommended in the prologue.[429] As Hutchinson points out,[430] the pointed antithesis between delicate, light and brief, and long, grand and thundering, suits his rhetorical purpose in the prologue, but we need hardly take it as a reasoned representation of his poetry: in fact it masks the importance of the grandiose in his poems, and the diversity of tone which its exploitation allows him. Shifts in tone from a grander manner are apparent in *Hecale* frr. 69–74 H., where the epic capture of the bull and subsequent φυλλοβολία ('pelting with leaves') in fr. 69 gives way to the more comic reminiscences of the crow, particularly in fr. 74.[431] But these changes illustrate the fact that Callimachus is

[424] Cf. Hutchinson 1988: 80.
[425] See Hutchinson 1988: 83–4, Cameron 1995: 130, Acosta-Hughes–Stephens 2002: 240–5.
[426] Cf. Cameron 1995: 340, Andrews 1998: 4–5. [427] See Hutchinson 1988: 81.
[428] Cf. Acosta-Hughes–Stephens 2002: 245–6, who point out that throughout fr. 1 Pf. the language of song is associated exclusively with Callimachus.
[429] See, however, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 68, who do not think there is a good reason to doubt that Callimachus' poetry was criticised.
[430] Hutchinson 1988: 83–4. [431] Hollis 1990: 10.

prepared to employ a far greater tonal range than that implied by delicate poetry which never thunders.

This internal function, to emphasise the qualities of the *Aetia* itself, means we need not posit a role for the *Aetia* prologue in a debate about how to write elegy, or on the merits of the *Lyde*, as Cameron does,[432] to replace the flawed hypothesis of the debate on epic,[433] for which there is little evidence. Cameron has comprehensively attacked this view,[434] pointing out (e.g.) the discussion of the relative merits of *elegies* by Philetas and Mimnermus in the prologue (fr. 1.9ff. Pf.),[435] the illusory nature of much 'orthodox', 'anti-Callimachean' Hellenistic epic,[436] and the epic nature of the *Hecale* itself.[437] But, as Schmitz notes,[438] Cameron shares, for the most part, the assumption of those he targets that the reference of the prologue to extratextual people and events can be identified. This assumption is unnecessary, particularly when we bear in mind the rhetorical function of the prologue – the *Aetia* prologue is about elegy, not epic, but that elegy is the *Aetia*.[439]

'Callimachus' in the Aetia

The first two books of the *Aetia* are structured around a dialogue with the Muses,[440] where the narrator asks questions about various arcane topics (κῶς δέ, θεαί, 'how is it, goddesses', fr. 7.19 Pf.) and receives answers from individual Muses (ἤρχετο Καλλιόπη, 'Calliope began', fr. 7.22 Pf.). This dialogue appears to be set in the context of a dream (κ]ατ᾽ ὄναρ σ(υμ)μείξας ταῖς Μούσ[αις, 'talking with the Muses in a dream', Schol.Flor. 16) the aged narrator has about meeting the Muses on Helicon as a boy (ἀ]ρτιγένειος ὤν, 'with my first beard', Schol.Flor.18), modelled on Hesiod's meeting with the Muses (Ποιμένι μῆλα νέμ̣οντι παρ᾽ ἴχνιον ὀξέος ἵππου | Ἡσιόδῳ Μουσέων ἑσμὸς ὅτ᾽ ἠντίασεν, 'when, as he tended his sheep by the quick horse's footmark, the swarm

[432] See Cameron 1995: 232, 303–38.

[433] See, e.g. Brink 1946: 16, who moves from documented disagreement of Asclepiades and Posidippus with Callimachus on Antimachus (on the elegiac *Lyde*) to deduce this must concern 'the Cyclic Epic'.

[434] Cameron 1995 *passim*.

[435] See Cameron 1995: 307–8.

[436] In the sense of full-scale epic in several books, as opposed to shorter hexameter encomia more like Theocritus 17 (Cameron 1995: 263–302). See for a different view of Hellenistic epic Ziegler 1966, Lloyd-Jones 1990: 236–7.

[437] See Cameron 1995: 437–53.

[438] Schmitz 1999: 153.

[439] For another candidate for elegy which Callimachus is targeting see Barbantani 2001: 23–5, who suggests encomiastic elegy such as *SH* 958 and 969.

[440] Cf. Parsons 1977: 49, Harder 1988: 2.

of Muses met Hesiod the shepherd', fr. 2.1–2 Pf.).[441] But 'Callimachus' also speaks at length in learned fashion in the report of this dream dialogue (e.g. fr. 43.40–55 Pf. on the Sicilian cities), so that *Aetia* 1–2 are not simply a set of questions asked by 'Callimachus' and answered by the Muses. 'Callimachus' also contributes narratives and information, e.g. in fr. 178 Pf.[442] This changing of speaker makes assessment of the secondary narrators in *Aetia* 1–2 particularly difficult (e.g. it is not clear who addresses Athena in fr. 37 Pf.).

The second two books abandon this Muse dialogue,[443] perhaps because 'Callimachus' wakes up at the end of *Aetia* 2:[444] οὐχ εὕδων, 'not sleeping' (*SH* 253.7),[445] ὄν]αρ[446] ὁππότ' ἔληξε θεῆς, 'when the dream passed' (*SH* 253.14). *Aetia* 3–4 consist of individual elegies, such as the *Victoria Berenices* (*SH* 254–68), the *Cydippe* (frr. 67–75 Pf.) and the *Coma Berenices* (fr. 110 Pf.), which seem to have been juxtaposed with one another without a frame such as the Muse dialogue of *Aetia* 1–2.[447] This allows for different speakers,[448] such as the lock of Berenice's hair in the *Coma Berenices*, and also entails differences in the presence and presentation of the narrator. 'Callimachus' is more prominent in *Aetia* 1–2, where the dialogue form allows a more uniform portrayal. Nevertheless, there are still many similarities between the two sets of books, e.g. in the scholarly character of 'Callimachus', where he is the speaker in *Aetia* 3–4.

The fact that the *Aetia* begins with a first-person narrative about a past event makes the poem quasi-biographical. The recollected dream dialogue with the Muses in *Aetia* 1–2 also fits into this pattern, and there is even an embedded first-person narrative about a past event in fr. 178 Pf. (which probably began *Aetia* 2),[449] where the narrator recounts to the Muses a conversation at a symposium, which surely ended with the comments of 'Callimachus' to the Muses in fr. 43.12ff. Pf. about only recollecting what he had heard at a symposium (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ὅσσα καρήατι τῆμος ἔδωκα | ξανθὰ σὺν εὐόδμοις ἁβρὰ λίπη στεφάνοις, | ἄπνοα πάντ' ἐγένοντο παρὰ χρέος, 'indeed whatever soft golden oils together with

[441] See Cameron 1995: 130–2. [442] Cf. Lynn 1995: 164–7.
[443] See Parsons 1977: 49–50, Cameron 1995: 108.
[444] See Cameron 1995: 138. [445] Cf. *app.crit.* [446] Suppl. Cameron.
[447] Some may also have circulated as independent elegies, e.g. the *Victoria Berenices* – cf. Parsons 1977: 48–50, Fuhrer 1992: 61–4. I use such titles, however, simply as convenient shorthand. For useful comments on the structure of the *Aetia* as a whole and in particular *Aetia* 3–4 see Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 44–9.
[448] Cf. Harder 1998: 111.
[449] See Zetzel 1981: 31–3 and now Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 80–1 for the history of the suggestion.

sweet-scented garlands I placed on my head all became lifeless straightaway').[450]

Fr. 178, then, in common with much of *Aetia* 1–2, is strictly speaking in the mouth of a secondary narrator,[451] here the young 'Callimachus', whose dream conversation with the Muses the old 'Callimachus' is recalling. This secondary narrator tells of an event of even longer ago, a symposium hosted by the Athenian Pollis, and quotes his own conversation with a fellow symposiast, an Ician. The speeches of 'Callimachus' and the Ician guest are therefore those of tertiary narrators. Nevertheless, in spite of my focus on primary narrators in this book, fr. 178 is important because of the extended look it gives us at Callimachus' means of developing his narratorial persona in *Aetia* 1–2.

'Callimachus' reveals the setting obliquely in this fragment (though note that some lines are probably lost at the beginning):[452] he is at a symposium (cf. δαίτην, v. 5) commemorating the Athenian festival of the Aiora, in memory of Erigone, daughter of Icarius, at the invitation of Pollis (v. 5).[453] But we are in Egypt – one of the invited friends is an Ician stranger 'recently arrived in Egypt' (ὃς A[ἰ]γύπτῳ καινὸς ἀνεστρέφετο, v. 6). This stranger retains something of an air of mystery as 'Callimachus' does not make clear the purpose of his visit. He merely says 'he came on some private matter' (μεμβλωκὼς ἴδιόν τι κατὰ χρέος, v. 7). This teasing (both of the reader and the internal audience of Muses) continues when 'Callimachus' tells us he spoke to the Ician, 'when I'd found out his name and background' (εὖτ' ἐδάην οὔνομα καὶ γενεήν, v. 14). But we do not hear his name (Theogenes) until its emphatic positioning at the beginning of v. 21, when 'Callimachus' quotes his speech to this Theogenes at the past symposium. It is only from the mouth of a tertiary narrator that we learn of the Ician's identity.

Nevertheless, there is a clear continuity of character between 'Callimachus' the secondary narrator and his earlier self. Both, for example, are fond of quoting sayings:

> 'ἦ μάλ' ἔπος τόδ' ἀληθές, ὅ τ' οὐ μόνον ὕδατος αἶσαν,
> ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ λέσχης οἶνος ἔχειν ἐθέλει . . .
>
> 'This proverb is very true: it is not only its share of water
> which wine needs – it also wants conversation . . .;
>
> (vv. 15–16, tertiary 'Callimachus')

[450] So Cameron 1995: 134–5.
[451] Cf. Cameron 1995: 135, Harder 2004: 67–8.
[452] Cf. Cameron 1995: 134.
[453] Pollis is not named in the fragment, but Athenaeus 477c preserves his name.

ἀλλ᾽ αἶνος Ὁμηρικός, αἰὲν ὁμοῖον
ὡς θεός, οὐ ψευδής, ἐς τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει.

But Homer's saying is no lie:
god brings what is alike together.

(vv. 9–10, secondary 'Callimachus')

And of course the past tertiary 'Callimachus' was as interested in the origins of rituals as the 'Callimachus' who is conversation with the Muses on just this topic. The question of the tertiary 'Callimachus' to Theogenes, Μυρμιδόνων ἔσσῆνα τ[ί πάτριον ὔ]μμι σέβεσθαι | Πηλέα, κῶς ᾽Ικῳ ξυν[ὰ τὰ Θεσσαλι]κά ('the Myrmidons' prince, Peleus, why is it your ancestral custom to worship him? How are Thessalian things related to Icos?', vv. 23–4) resembles the questions of the secondary 'Callimachus' to the Muses, e.g. Κ]ισσούσ<σ>ης παρ᾽ ὕδωρ Θεοδαίσια Κρῆ[σσαν ἑ]ορτὴν | ἡ] πτόλις ἡ Κάδμου κῶς Ἁλίαρτος ἄγ[ει ('how is it that by the waters of Cissousa the Cretan festival of Theodaisia is celebrated by Haliartus, the city of Cadmus?', fr. 43.86–7 Pf.). The detail that the tertiary 'Callimachus' prefaces to his question, that his θυμός ('heart', v. 21) is yearning for an answer from Theogenes (vv. 21–2), also recalls the secondary 'Callimachus':

τὼ]ς μὲν ἔφη· τὰς δ᾽ εἴθαρ ἐμὸς πάλιν εἴρετο θυμός

So she spoke. And of them at once my heart again asked . . .

(fr. 31b Pf.)

Narratorial involvement throughout *Aetia* 1–2 is particularly evident where 'Callimachus' expresses such personal reactions to the responses of the Muses.[454] Among the most explicit is:

ὣ[ς] ἡ μὲν λίπε μῦ[θ]ον, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐπὶ καὶ [τὸ πυ]θέσθαι
ἤ]θελον – ἦ γάρ μοι θάμβος ὑπετρέφ[ετ]ο –

So she ended the tale, and I also wanted to find out –
my amazement secretly grew, you see. (fr. 43.84–5 Pf.)

In this case 'Callimachus' tells us of his own emotional reaction to the Muses' narrative. We also find similar emphatic evaluative language elsewhere in *Aetia* 1–2. Fr. 24 Pf. describes Hyllus as ὁ πείνῃ | θυμαίνων ('angry because of his hunger', vv. 1–2), where again there is an address to a character (τὶν δ᾽ ὦνα γέλως ἀνεμίσγετο λύπῃ, 'your laughter, lord, was mixed with pain', v. 3). Thiodamas' response to Heracles' appeals for food

[454] Cf. Harder 1988: 12–13.

is also described evaluatively – ἀγρεῖον [καὶ ἀμείλιχον ἐξ]εγέλασσε ('he laughed savagely [and unkindly]', v. 13).[455] Fr. 178, where 'Callimachus' addresses Erigone, also provides a good example of the narrator's emotional engagement with his narrative:

> Ἰκαρίου καὶ παιδὸς ἄγων ἐπέτειον ἀγιστύν,
> Ἀθίσιν οἰκτίστη, σὸν φάος, Ἠριγόνη
>
> and when observing the annual rites of Icarius' daughter,
> that is, o most pitiable to the women of Athens, your
> day, Erigone. (vv. 3–4)

The language in which 'Callimachus' reports the Ician's drinking preferences is also forceful: Theogenes 'detested drinking wine-draughts greedily' (ἀπέστυγε χανδὸν ἄμυστιν | οἰνοποτεῖν, vv. 11–12).[456] This strongly expressed comment is part of a stress in fr. 178 on the proper conduct of a symposium, which recalls and transforms some Archaic models.[457] The symposium was, of course, a central context for the performance of many different types of Archaic poetry, and continued to be important in the Hellenistic period.[458] The topic of proper sympotic behaviour was also itself an Archaic one, as in the idealised symposium which Xenophanes fr. 1 W. describes, or Anacreon's plea for moderation in *PMG* 356 (quoted above, p. 112). Indeed Theogenes' distaste for drinking 'like a Thracian' (Θρηϊκίην, fr. 178.11) recalls precisely that fragment of Anacreon, where he urges the abandonment of drinking he also characterises as barbarian (Σκυθικὴν πόσιν . . . | μελετῶμεν, 'let's not drink like Scythians', *PMG* 356 (b).3–4).

But there is a subtle shift in fr. 178 – where Anacreon wanted restrained drinking καλοῖς | . . . ἐν ὕμνοις ('in the midst of beautiful hymns', *PMG* 356 (b).4–5), 'Callimachus' recommends avoiding excess drunkenness through talk (vv. 17–20), which turns out to be about the origins of rituals. Learning has replaced song. Or has it? The *Aetia*, of course, is still a poem, and the conversations with Theogenes and the Muses are themselves in elegiacs (appropriately enough in the latter case – shouldn't conversations with the goddesses of poetry and music be in verse?). The parallelism

[455] Cf. Hollis 1982: 118 for the suggestion that this language is more appropriate in the mouth of 'Callimachus'. See, however, Massimilla 1996: 294 [Muse], D'Alessio 1996: II.404 n. 83 [poet or Muse].

[456] Theogenes 'preferred a little goblet' (v. 12). For the poetological associations here see Cameron 1995: 135–7, who sees a connection with the language of the *Aetia* prologue.

[457] See in general on this topic the excellent discussion of Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 76–83, who illustrate, for example, the importance of Odyssean sympotic models.

[458] Cf. Cameron 1995: 71–103. See also D'Alessio 1996: II.555 n. 14 for fr. 178 as representing the inclusion of the sympotic tradition within the *Aetia*.

between the tertiary and secondary Callimachuses, and their respective conversations, reinforces the impression that what has replaced Anacreon's 'beautiful hymns' is (the raw material of) the *Aetia* itself. The moderate sympotic conversation with Theogenes found itself, in the end, in a poem.

And there is a further shift here: the sympotic conversation with Theogenes took place in the context of a ritual (or its Hellenistic recreation) – Pollis' celebration of the Athenian Erigone festival (fr. 178.3–5).[459] This reminds us of Callimachus' mimetic hymns, which themselves 'recreated' distant Greek festivals. In the *Aetia*, however, the narrator is very different, and hence so is our perspective. He is not an excited celebrant back in Greece (or Cyrene), but chats about aetia to his couch companion in Egypt. This is one clear marker of the closeness of the 'Callimachus' (or 'Callimachuses') of *Aetia* 1–2 to the historical author, but also shows us how distant the 'real' rituals or festivals which both Pollis and the mimetic hymns recreate are from the world of Callimachus, and hints therefore at the problems this might create.[460] It also purports to show us how Callimachus gets his information about such far-away rites – he chats to his neighbour at dinner. But there is also some misdirection here, of course – the sympotic conversation (as with the dream meeting with the Muses) effaces the role of the Library and its texts in gathering such knowledge, and replaces it with an 'oralist' alternative.[461]

The subject matter of the prologue, quarrels about poetry, also strongly recalls the historical Callimachus, or the picture of himself he chose to present in his poems. The narrator presents himself as criticised for not writing a particular type of poem (ἓν ἄεισμα διηνεκές, 'one continuous song', fr. 1.3 Pf.), and Apollo addresses the youthful 'Callimachus' as ἀοιδέ ('singer', fr. 1.23 Pf.). This self-presentation as a poet continues beyond the prologue – ἕλλατε νῦν, ἐλέγοι̣σι̣ δ᾽ ἐνιψήσασθε λιπώσας | χεῖρας ἐμοῖς, ἵνα μοι πουλὺ μένωσιν ἔτος ('now be favourable, and wipe your glistening hands on my elegies, so that they may endure for me for many years', fr. 7.13–14 Pf.). The Telchines, Βασκανίης ὁλοὸν γένος ('Jealousy's deadly race', fr. 1.17 Pf.), themselves recall Callimachus' epitaph for himself (*Epigr.* 21 Pf.), where Callimachus names himself (v. 1) and claims ὁ δ᾽ ἄεισεν κρέσσονα βασκανίης ('he sang songs overcoming jealousy', v. 4). The

[459] See Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 83.

[460] Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 83 also observe how different Pollis' project of recreation is from that of Callimachus in the *Aetia*.

[461] Cf. Bruss 2004 on the interaction between 'oralist' and 'literary' elements in the *Aetia*.

direction of the echo is impossible to ascertain, but the epigram more probably echoes the prologue, rather than vice versa. The idea of 'jealousy' also echoes Phthonos at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*.

There may have even been a self-naming in the *Aetia* itself, along the lines of that at *Th.* 22 (αἵ νύ ποθ' Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν, 'they once taught Hesiod beautiful song'), which is clearly the model for the *Somnium* of the *Aetia* (fr. 2 Pf., quoted above). If fr. 602 Pf. is from the *Aetia*, and spoken by the primary narrator, he is explicitly given the same nationality as Callimachus:

> δέσποιναι Λιβύης ἡρωΐδες, αἳ Νασαμώνων
> αὔλιν καὶ δολιχὰς θῖνας ἐπιβλέπετε,
> μητέρα μοι ζώουσαν ὀφέλλετε
>
> Heroine mistresses of Libya, who look on the shelter and long shores
> of the Nasamones, make prosper my vigorous mother [*sc.* Cyrene].

Clio's wish that he go with a better bird of omen than the *harpasos* εἰ . . . λαὸν ἔποικον ἄ[γοις ('if you lead a people as colonists', fr. 43.67 Pf.) may hint at a Battiad connection (cf. *Epigr.* 35 Pf.) on the part of the narrator, which Callimachus plays with elsewhere (*H.* 2). Battus was led by Apollo in the form of a raven to found Cyrene (*H.* 2.65–6).

The most consistent aspect of the characterisation of 'Callimachus', as indicated above, is an interest in scholarship and the arcane. This is explicit in *Aetia* 1–2 in the questions 'Callimachus' asks the Muses (κῶς ἄν̣ [ις αὐλῶν | ῥέζειν καὶ στεφέων εὔαδε τῳ Παρίῳ, 'how is it that it pleases the Parian to sacrifice without garlands or [*auloi*]?', fr. 3.1–2 Pf.), as well as in the information he offers himself (οἶδα Γέλα ποταμοῦ κεφαλῆ ἔπι κείμ̣ενον ἄστυ | Λίνδοθεν ἀρχαίη̣ [σ]κ̣ιμπ[τόμενο]ν̣ γενε[ῆι, 'I know the city lying at the head of the river Gela, vaunting its origin of old from Lindos', fr. 43.46–7 Pf.). Given the change in their framework, *Aetia* 3–4 indicate this aspect of the narrator in slightly different ways. 'Callimachus' gives us his source for the story of Acontius and Cydippe – παρ' ἀρχαίου Ξενομήδεος ('from old Xenomedes', fr. 75.54 Pf.), and then summarises his history of Ceos in fr. 75.55–77 Pf. The fact that this source is now a prose history, rather than the Muses, Callimachus may mean to mark a change in the autonomy of the narrator, now able to work independently from the Muses, but this may also be a playful reinterpretation of the Muse dialogue of *Aetia* 1–2, and the traditional conception of song as in some sense a joint labour of poet and Muse. At any rate we have in the *Cydippe* from *Aetia* 3 a scholarly narrator whose use of learned sources is explicitly announced in fr. 75 Pf. It is also clear, if not explicitly marked, earlier in the *Cydippe*, as Lynn

notes.[462] Even the opening eight lines of the *Cydippe* (fr. 67.1–8 Pf.) make reference to a textual variant in the first line of the *Odyssey* (Acontius is not πολύκροτος, 'clever', v. 3, while πολύκροτον was a variant reading for πολύτροπον, 'much-turning', at *Od.* 1.1), and demand of the audience considerable knowledge, for example of the histories of the noble families of Ceos and Naxos, with the description of Acontius as a Euxantid and Cydippe as a Promethid (vv. 7–8).

The *Victoria Berenices* (from *Aetia* 3–4) also relates its erudition peripherally at its beginning:

> Ζηνί τε καὶ Νεμέῃ τι χαρίσιον ἔδνον ὀφείλω,
> νύμφα κα[σιγνή]τ̣ων ἱερὸν αἷμα θεῶν,
> ἡμ[ε]τ̣ερ̣ο̣ [.....].εων ἐπινίκιον ἵππῳ[ν.
> ἁρμοῖ γὰρ Δαναοῦ γῆς ἀπὸ βουγενέος
> εἰς Ἑλένη[ς νησῖδ]α̣ καὶ εἰς Παλληνέα μά[ντιν,
> ποιμένα [φωκάων], χρύσεον ἦλθεν ἔπος
>
> To Zeus and to Nemea I owe a wedding gift of thanks,
> o bride, holy blood of the sibling gods,
> our . . . victory song of horses.
> Because just now from the ox-born land of Danaus
> to the [isle] of Helen and the Pallenian seer,
> shepherd of [seals], came a golden word. (*SH* 254.1–6)

These periphrases fulfil the formal requirements of the epinician in providing information about the victory, the victor, the victor's homeland, the victor's father and the Games where the victory was won.[463] But they also mark a loss of the 'documentary function' of Archaic epinicians.[464] The lines convey the information not to broadcast it, but to characterise the narrator as learned, and to present an 'inclusive' challenge to the audience or reader. The allusive references invite decoding by the reader or audience. Schmitz argues convincingly that the references in the *Aetia* prologue to the poetry of Mimnermus and Philetas, to an ongoing debate between narrator and detractors, and the erudition and allusiveness of passages such as the opening of the *Victoria Berenices*, operate by giving the reader the impression of admission to a closed group (given the context of facts already well known to the 'group'), and prompting the reader to decode periphrases which, when decoded, further associate

[462] Lynn 1995: 192–8.
[463] Cf. Fuhrer 1992: 86, on epinician formal requirements see Hamilton 1974: 15.
[464] Cf. Fuhrer 1992: 88–9, 135.

the reader with the author.[465] The affinities with Archaic pseudo-intimacy should be clear.

The beginning of the *Victoria Berenices* is also important as this probably began *Aetia* 3–4, so that it stood at the head of the second half of the *Aetia*, added to the first at a later date. Although the framing dialogue with the Muses has been dropped, the opening signals a prominent first-person narrator (ὀφείλω, 'I owe', v. 1; ἡμ[ε]τερο̣, 'our', v. 3) who in this and other aspects resembles 'Pindar' in his victory odes.[466] There is, then, to be no retreat of the intrusive narrator in *Aetia* 3–4. In fact the narrator is prepared to use himself to draw attention to the lack of attention to the 'main event' of the myth of the epinician, the killing of the Nemean lion by Heracles, in a striking adaptation of the 'unusual narrative emphasis' familiar from lyric, especially Pindaric epinicians:[467]

> αὐτὸς ἐπιφράσσαιτο, τάμοι δ' ἄπο μῆκος ἀοιδῆ̣·
> ὅσσα δ' ἀνειρομένῳ φῆ̣[σ]ε, τάδ' ἐξερέω·
> 'ἄττα γέρον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πα[ρὼν ἐν δ]αιτὶ μαθήσει,
> νῦν δὲ τά μοι πεύσῃ Παλλὰ[ς .....]..[
>
> Let him suggest it to himself, and cut off the length of the song.
> But what he said to his questioner, I'll declare:
> 'Aged father, you'll learn the rest at the feast,
> but now you'll find out what Pallas to me . . . (*SH* 264.1–4)

Not only does the narrator suggest to the reader to provide the details of the narrative himself, so breaking off the tale, which is echoed by Heracles' words to Molorchus,[468] but he even turns the speech introduction into an advertisement of his control of the narrative (vv. 3–4).[469] Such a prominent narrator, visibly controlling the narrative, is particularly striking because of the similarities between the myth of the *Victoria Berenices*, which juxtaposes Heracles and the Nemean lion with Molorchus his host's battle with mice, and Callimachus' *Hecale*, which concentrates on Hecale's hosting of Theseus during his pursuit of the Marathonian

[465] See Schmitz 1999: 155–6, 165–70. Cf. also Bing 1995b for Callimachean epigrams which leave the reader to deduce the whole picture from hints.

[466] Cf. Gerber 1982: 17, who notes the stress on the poet/narrator at the beginning of the epinician is a feature shared by Pindar, as is the notion of the poet's 'debt' – e.g. *O.* 10.3. Cf. also Pfeiffer 1949–53: II.308, 'initium omnino Pindaricum'.

[467] Cf. D'Alessio 1996: II.463 n. 29, who compares *P.* 4.247ff.

[468] Cf. D'Alessio 1996: II.463 n. 29.

[469] Cf. also the possible narratorial apostrophes of Molorchus at *SH* 265.10 (γέρ[ον, 'old man') and *SH* 265.15 (σ]ὴν κατ' ἐπω[νυμίην, 'according to your name'), though these may well be spoken by Heracles, or Athena quoted by Heracles.

bull.[470] In the *Hecale* the narrator appears to have been even more unobtrusive than the Homeric narrator,[471] whereas in the opening elegy of *Aetia* 3–4 a similar story is told by an extremely intrusive narrator.[472]

We find several quasi-biographical comments apparently connecting the narrator with the external world and the historical Callimachus in both *Aetia* 1–2 and 3–4. Most infamously perhaps, we are told that the narrator has apparently never travelled in fr. 178.32–4 Pf. (*Aet.* 2), long taken to be genuine autobiographical evidence.[473] In fr. 75 Pf. the narrator characterises himself as a Greek, participating in Greek customs, but dissenting from general Greek opinion about epilepsy with first-person plural verbs:

ἦλθε δὲ νοῦσος,
αἶγας ἐς ἀγριάδας τὴν ἀποπεμπόμεθα,
ψευδόμενοι δ' ἱερὴν φημίζομεν

The sickness came,
which we deflect onto wild goats and falsely call holy. (vv. 12–14)

Later in same fragment, 'Callimachus' may hint that he has been in love (though this could also be a general observation):

ψήφου δ' ἂν ἐμῆς ἐπιμάρτυρες εἶεν
οἵτινες οὐ χαλεποῦ νήιδές εἰσι θεοῦ.

My judgement all would testify to,
who have known the cruel god. (vv. 48–9)

[470] Cf. Hutchinson 1988: 46, and Cameron 1995: 437–47 and Ambühl 2004 for detailed comparisons of the two stories as told by Callimachus.

[471] Cf. Lynn 1995: 70–2. In the fragments of the *Hecale* there is no trace of pseudo-spontaneity, no narratorial self-corrections, no self-apostrophe, no break-offs, no convincing example of a narratorial first-person statement. However, Hollis 1990: 149 suggests there is a narratorial apostrophe in fr. 15 H. (though it seems as likely that this is spoken by a character) while there are also possible narratorial apostrophes in frr. 65, 116, 137, 149 H., though none is certain. Fr. 172inc.sed. H. = fr. 611inc.sed. Pf. does contain an apostrophe by the narrator, but it is not certainly from the *Hecale*. The *Hecale*'s non-intrusive narrator is also anonymous, like the Homeric narrator. There is little quasi-biography in the epic, and no strong connection to Callimachus. We find no narratorial 'they say' statements, nor is που ('no doubt') used to construct a scholarly narrator.

[472] Lynn 1995: 118–20 points out the contrast between the unprominent and prominent narrators of the *Hecale* and *Aetia* 1–2, and this contrast is even more striking given the (different) telling of similar tales highlighted by the opening of *Aetia* 3.

[473] See pp. 213–14 below. Because these are the words of a tertiary narrator, Theogenes, whom the young 'Callimachus' of the dream of the Muses quotes in conversation with another even earlier 'Callimachus' of the past (see above and Harder 2004: 67–8), whom vv. 32–4 imply himself told Theogenes about his non-travelling (presumably in the fragmentary vv. 26–9), they need hardly be true of the old 'Callimachus'. There are also affinities with Hesiod's own professed nautical ignorance (*Op.* 649), which again make it difficult to use as a piece of genuine autobiographical information – cf. Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 80.

In general the quasi-biography we find in the *Aetia* goes far beyond anything in Homer, Apollonius (though the *Argonautica* presents its narrator as a scholar and a Greek) or the *Hecale* – epic narrators are much less closely (or explicitly) grounded on their respective historical authors.

'Callimachus' also visibly intrudes upon his narrative at the beginning of the same fragment:

> Ἥρην γάρ κοτέ φασι – κύον, κύον, ἴσχεο, λαιδρέ
> θυμέ, σύ γ' ἀείσῃ καὶ τά περ οὐχ ὁσίη·
>
> Because Hera once they say – dog, dog, stop, impudent
> soul, you'd sing even of unlawful things. (fr. 75.4–5 Pf.)

In this way 'Callimachus' breaks off a potentially impious tale in the *Cydippe*, in doing so adopting the predominantly Pindaric techniques of self-apostrophe and ostentatious abandonment of the unsuitable,[474] particularly clear at *O.* 9.35ff.:

> ἀπό μοι λόγον
> τοῦτον, στόμα, ῥίψον·
>
> Mouth, throw this story away from me.

Fuhrer notes that in Pindar the primary motivation of such passages is to present the poet as pious,[475] but thinks that in Callimachus the emphasis is on a display of virtuosity and discontinuity of narrative. But in Callimachus too the narrator is thus presented as pious, even though this may not have the directly or indirectly encomiastic function of piety in Pindar. The self-address itself draws attention to the narrator,[476] and in particular to his control of the narrative, which the narrator goes on to allude to:

> ἦ πολυιδρείη χαλεπὸν κακόν, ὅστις ἀκαρτεῖ
> γλώσσης· ὡς ἐτεὸν παῖς ὅδε μαῦλιν ἔχει.
>
> Knowing many things is indeed a harsh evil for the man who cannot
> marshal his tongue: truly he is a child who has a knife. (fr. 75.8–9 Pf.)

Far from endangering anyone, or his narrative, the narrator has deftly moved from preparations the night before the wedding to the sickness of Cydippe the following day (in fr. 75.10ff. Pf.), and alluded to the aetion of the Naxian custom of making the bride sleep in the company of a young

[474] Cf. pp. 88 and 97–9 above.
[475] See Fuhrer 1988: 53–4, 58. [476] Cf. Harder 1990: 299.

boy on the night prior to her wedding day (a detail from the ἱερὸς γάμος, 'holy marriage', of Zeus and Hera).[477]

That a pious, moralising narrator is a deliberate effect of such a self-apostrophe is confirmed by fr. 24.20–1 Pf., which again has 'Callimachus' preferring pious silence:

> ἔκλυε <–> , τῶν μηδὲν ἐμοὺς δι᾽ ὀδόντας ὀλίσθοι,
> Πηλεύς
>
> Peleus heard . . . – may nothing of that escape through my teeth.

This alludes to another Pindaric passage, *N*. 5.14ff., where the Pindaric narrator shrinks from telling of the murder of Phocus by Peleus and Telamon, the event alluded to in the *Aetia*.[478] Again, this allows allusion to a myth without giving it a full treatment. It also plays an important role in characterising the narrator as a moraliser, as is also apparent from the gnomic material in the *Aetia*. Archaic models are once more important here – in fr. 2.5 Pf. 'Callimachus' adapts Hesiod (*Op*. 265): τεύχων ὡς ἑτέρῳ τις ἑῷ κακὸν ἤπατι τεύχει ('that doing evil things to another does evil to one's own liver'),[479] and in fr. 96.1–2 Pf. comments:

> θεοὶ πάντες κομποῖς νεμεσήμονες, ἐκ δέ τε πάντων
> Ἄρτεμις
>
> All the gods feel wrath at boasting, Artemis most of all.

These comments, like the ostentatious silences above, characterise the narrator as 'pious'. This is both inclusive, putting both narrator and audience 'in the right', and fitting for a poet whose narrators often associate religious or ethical purity with poetic excellence (e.g. *Epigr*. 7 Pf.; τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον | θρέψαι, τὴ]ν Μοῦσαν δ᾽ ὠγαθὲ λεπταλέην, 'rear the sacrificial victim as fat as possible, but the Muse, my good friend, keep her delicate', fr. 1.23–4 Pf.). The figure of Apollo, often closely associated with 'Callimachus', seems particularly important in this regard.

[477] See, however, Lynn 1995: 205–15, who thinks that the narrator here just cannot get it right – first he nearly tells an inappropriate tale by way of aetiology, but one which everyone knows (cf. *Il*. 14.292–6), then he compares this to telling of the mysteries of Demeter (vv. 6–7), revelation of which carried a much more serious penalty, and does so with language (οὐχ ὁσίη, 'unlawful/unholy', v. 4) and subject matter (the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera) which recall Sotades' own scurrilous association of Zeus and Hera with the married siblings Philadelphus and Arsinoe (*Coll. Alex*. frr. 1, 16). Lynn contrasts this struggle to include what is appropriate with the ease of the Berenice elegies. See also Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 61–3 on fr. 75 Pf.

[478] See Trypanis 1958: 25, Fuhrer 1988: 65–6.

[479] Cf. Pfeiffer 1949–53: I.9, Trypanis 1958: 8.

A related aspect is the expression of strong opinion in emphatic terms, as when 'Callimachus' announces to Acontius:

> οὔ σε δοκέω τημοῦτος, Ἀκόντιε, νυκτὸς ἐκείνης
> ἀντί κε, τῇ μίτρης ἥψαο παρθενίης
> οὐ σφυρὸν Ἰφίκλειον
>
> I don't think that then, Acontius, for that night,
> when you touched her virgin girdle, you would have exchanged
> even Iphicles' ankle. (fr. 75.44–6 Pf.)

Harder compares the invocation of the narratee or an unnamed third party (*tis*) in Homer (*Il.* 17.366–7, 16.638f.) as potential eyewitnesses,[480] but the closest parallels again seem to be the emphatic use of first-person statements in Pindar to comment upon a myth (e.g. *N.* 7.20–1 on Odysseus).[481]

The use of emotional or evaluative language, particularly clear in the *Cydippe* (frr. 67–75 Pf.), is related to such expressions of opinion. In addition to such language in the break-off at fr. 75.4ff., discussed above, where the narrator calls himself a dog, and his soul shameless, the narrator describes the bulls about to be sacrificed before the wedding of Cydippe as 'to tear their hearts', θυμὸν ἀμύξειν (fr. 75.10 Pf.),[482] while his profession of opinion about Acontius on his wedding night contains the evaluative χαλεποῦ ('cruel', fr. 75.49 Pf., see above). His words on Xenomedes also employ affective language:[483]

> εἶπε δέ, Κῆϊε,
> ξυγκραθέντ' αὐταῖς ὀξὺν ἔρωτα σέθεν
> πρέσβυς ἐτητυμίῃ μεμελημένος
>
> He told, Cean,
> of your sharp love, mixed with these things,
> the aged one, who cared for truth. (fr. 75.74–6 Pf.)

Acontius' love is 'sharp', while Xenomedes 'cares for' truth. The address to Acontius also expresses the narrator's emotion. We also see such addresses

[480] Harder 1990: 300.

[481] Cf. pp. 98–9 above. See also Lynn 1995: 225–8, who demonstrates how the narrator here does not make any allowances for the intellectual level of the character he addresses, and that this is the first explicit sign that the narrator's knowledge of the events of his narrative is not complete. Where he gets his information, such as it is, is then highlighted by the section on Xenomedes (vv. 53–77).

[482] See Harder 1990: 304. But this affective description of the sacrificial victims marks for D'Alessio (1996: I.5–6) a deliberately disconcerting shift in the narrator's focus from the main business of the narrative (e.g. Acontius' and Cydippe's emotions etc.), part of a more general variation in point of view in Callimachus' storytelling.

[483] Cf. Harder 1990: 305–6.

at fr. 75.40–1, 44ff. and 51ff., and perhaps also originally when he fell in love, and when Artemis decided to help him, to judge from the addresses at these points in Aristaenetus (who follows Callimachus closely) at 1.10.20 and 1.10.46.[484] These features contrast strongly with those parts of the *Cydippe* that concentrate on Cydippe herself, which are related much more objectively, with much less narratorial involvement.[485]

The Muses and sources

One set of secondary narrators deserves special mention – the Muses. They are particularly in evidence, of course, in *Aetia* 1–2. Naturally, they share many of the characteristics of the scholarly 'Callimachus'. Calliope ponders on what the Greeks would have called a Colchian settlement and records its Colchian name (fr. 11.5–6 Pf.). Their knowledge is, of course, great – Clio not only knows why at Zancle the founders are not invited to the feast, but knows about the details of their quarrel (fr. 43.73ff. Pf.) and can quote the form of words employed at Zancle ('whoever built the city . . .', fr. 43.81–3 Pf.). She is also careful to include, in a scholarly parenthesis, details about the sickle Cronus used to castrate his father, and an allusion to the etymology of Zancle (κεῖθι γὰρ ᾧ τὰ γονῆος ἀπέθρισε μήδε' ἐκεῖνος | κέκρυπται γύπῃ ζάγκλον ὑπὸ χθονίῃ, 'there, you see, is hidden in a cave in the ground the sickle which that one used to prune the genitals of his father', fr. 43.70–1 Pf.). The Muses are also prepared to pass judgement on characters, as at fr. 23.6 Pf. to Heracles: ἐσσὶ] γὰρ οὐ μάλ' ἐλαφρός ('because you are not very clever').[486]

In *Aetia* 1–2, in contrast to the complete dependence of the Homeric narrator on the Muses (*Il.* 2.485f.),[487] there is 'an erudite scholar seeking . . . the solution of some recondite problems about anomalies and curiosities', and from the Muses 'a business-like concentration on the facts'.[488] Though the Muses are more knowledgeable than 'Callimachus', their erudition is of a similar type, and 'Callimachus' can himself offer them detailed information (e.g. in fr. 43 Pf.). The manner of Calliope's reply in fr. 7 Pf. emphasises their relative equality:

[484] See Harder 1990: 307. In fact addresses by the narrator are a regular feature of the aetia in *Aetia* 4: frr. 90, 91, 93, 100 Pf. etc. Cf. Harder 1990: 307 with n. 58, 1998: 109.

[485] Cf. Harder 1990: 306. Lynn 1995: 192–8 thinks that the first part of the *Cydippe*, with its ostentatious use of scholarship and demands on the narratee (see above) is told by a clearly scholarly narrator, but one who does not formally intrude on his narrative until the slip at fr. 75.4 Pf., after which he is an explicit presence and openly prepared to discuss his sources and address Acontius.

[486] See, however, Hutchinson 1988: 45, 47, who seems to think Callimachus is speaking.

[487] Cf. pp. 73–4 above.

[488] Hutchinson 1988: 44.

Αἰγλήτην Ἀνάφην τε, Λακωνίδι γείτονα Θήρῃ,
π]ρῶτ[ον ἐνὶ μ]νήμῃ κάτθεο καὶ Μινύας,
ἄρχμενος ὡς ἥρωες ἀπ' Αἰήταο Κυταίου
αὖτις ἐς ἀρχαίην ἔπλεον Αἱμονίην

The Shining One and Anaphe, neighbour of Laconian Thera,
first set down in your memory, and the Minyans,
beginning with how the heroes sailed back from Cytaean Aeetes
to ancient Haemonia. (vv. 23–6)

Here there is a reversal of conventional invocatory language, where the *narrator* usually requests that the Muse recount a tale by asking 'call to mind . . .'.[489]

Aetia 3–4 may suggest a greater independence from the Muses, given the abandonment of the dialogue framework, and the opening of book 3 with an address, not to a Muse, but Berenice, in *SH* 254.1–3. Berenice operates as a surrogate Muse, as well as being the victor. Beginning with an invocation of the victor is very rare in Pindaric epinicians – only *I.* 4 begins in this way,[490] although Bacchylides does open B. 5 with an address to Hieron. It is usually divinities that are addressed (including the eponymous nymphs of victorious cities),[491] and here we can see Berenice addressed in a quasi-divine capacity as 'holy blood of the gods' (*SH* 254.2). Following the Muse dialogue, the address to Berenice as a divinity, standing at the front of the two remaining books, points significantly to her usurping of the Muses' central role (she frames *Aetia* 3–4, as the last aetion is the *Coma Berenices*).[492] She was obviously thought appropriate to the role – she is the fourth, and most important, Grace in *Epigr.* 51 Pf.

The scholarly partnership of Muses and 'Callimachus' gives way to a direct access on the narrator's part to scholarship, as contained in the history of Xenomedes. The summary of this in fr. 75 Pf. begins significantly:

ὅς ποτε πᾶσαν
νῆσον ἐνὶ μνήμῃ κάτθετο μυθολόγῳ,
ἄρχμενος ὡς . . .

who once the whole
island set down in a memoir about its mythology,
beginning with how. . . (fr. 75.54–6 Pf.)

[489] See D'Alessio 1996: II.386 n. 49.
[490] Willcock 1995: 74 thinks this is probably accidental, given the frequent mention of the victor at the beginning of the odes.
[491] The Muses are invoked at the beginning of an ode in *O.* 10, *P.* 4, *N.* 3 and *N.* 9.
[492] Cf. on connections between the Berenice elegies of *Aetia* 3–4 Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 83–8.

This is strongly reminiscent of the way in which Calliope began her first response to the narrator's questioning in book 1. But now historians are the source whence tales come ἐς ἡμετέρην . . . Καλλιόπην ('to our Calliope', fr. 75.76–7 Pf.). We might interpret the possessive ἡμετέρην ('our') as indicating that the relationship of dependence on the Muses, already transformed into one of a professor and pupil, has altered further in favour of the autonomous poet. But the description of Xenomedes as a source for Calliope may be an ironic reference back to the tales told by the Muses in *Aetia* 1–2, suggesting that their own knowledge may have been acquired through close study of works such as a Cean mythological history. Hence the close verbal echo of a fragment from *Aetia* 1 may prompt us to see the relationship of 'Callimachus' and the Muses as the same in *Aetia* 3–4 as it was in *Aetia* 1–2, but now described from a different point of view. There we heard the conversation between narrator and Muses which gave rise (eventually) to the poem we are reading, here we hear described how Calliope got her information about Acontius and Cydippe. The similarity of narrator and Muses, which was apparent in *Aetia* 1–2, seems also to hold for the *Cydippe* – they both work from sources such as Xenomedes.[493] It may also be rash to generalise about the role of the Muses in *Aetia* 3–4 from their depiction in the *Cydippe*, as they may have played different roles in the different elegies – the lack of a framing Muse dialogue means more variation is likely. What is clear is that the Muses did appear in *Aetia* 3–4 – there are possible addresses to them at frr. 76, 86, 112.3ff. Pf.),[494] and with the final line the narrator passes to the Μουσέων πεζὸν . . . νομόν ('Muses' prose pasture', fr. 112.9 Pf.).[495]

Other speakers

Because the different elegies which comprised *Aetia* 3–4 were juxtaposed, rather than being incorporated into the Muse dialogue of *Aetia* 1–2, we have there a range of different primary narrators, such as Simonides (fr. 64 Pf.) or a lock of hair (fr. 110 Pf.). This itself allows a different sort of play with other genres – the more oblique allusions to other types of poetry,

[493] It might also be a comic bursting of what Bruss 2004 calls the 'oralist' fiction of the Muse dialogue of *Aetia* 1–2: just as 'Callimachus' ended up writing down his conversation with the Muses, here we find out even Calliope was reading.

[494] The last is controversial, cf. Pfeiffer 1949–53: I.124.

[495] Though it has been suggested this was originally the epilogue to *Aetia* 1–2, and transferred to the end of *Aetia* 3–4 by Callimachus (Knox 1985: 64–5) or an editor (Knox 1993, Cameron 1995: 143–5, 154–60).

e.g. catalogue poetry in fr. 43 Pf. (οἶδα, 'I know', vv. 46, 50), give way to voices which seem transferred in their entirety from another genre.[496]

The archaic voice of Simonides seems to come within a straightforward funerary epigram (cf. Call. *Epigr*. 40 Pf.), where the dead person addresses the reader or passer-by (εἴ τιν' ἀκούει[ς, 'if you have heard of', fr. 64.5 Pf.), and provides information about himself, his father and his country (fr. 64.7–10 Pf.). Harder,[497] however, has drawn our attention to the difficulties involved in reading this section thus – the tomb no longer exists, as it has been torn down, and Simonides can therefore no longer straightforwardly speak 'from the tomb'. The inscription which once stood on the tomb is *quoted*, and so no longer coincides with the voice of the dead. The address to Polydeuces in fr. 64.11ff. Pf. seems to turn the fragment towards prayer.[498] The play here is appropriate in a commemoration of Simonides, famous for his funeral songs,[499] who emphasised that funeral monuments do not last forever,[500] but also alludes to the style of Callimachus' own epitaphs. There Callimachus experiments with projecting an inscription which we do not see but which is read by the passer-by, thus creating a 'secondary' epitaph which the audience *can* read.[501] Fr. 64 Pf. introduces a further level of paradox – the dead person himself reads out the inscription:

> οὐδὲ τὸ γράμμα
> ἠδέσθη τὸ λέγον τόν [μ]ε Λεωπρέπεος
> κεῖσθαι Κήϊον ἄνδρα τὸν ἱερόν
>
> nor was the inscription
> respected, which said I, son of Leoprepes,
> lay there, the holy Cean man. (vv. 7–9)

There is more play with the generic conventions of epigram in the *Coma Berenices*. In fr. 110 Pf., as in dedicatory epigrams, the object speaks (καλὸς ἐγὼ πλόκαμ[ος, 'I, fair lock', v. 62). But here again there are oddities.[502] The speaking object arose from the convention of inscribing something on the object or on its container, but here the object is both missing (it disappeared shortly after its dedication), and transformed into a star (με Κόνων ἔβλεψεν ἐν ἠέρι, 'Conon spotted me in the sky', v. 7). Nor are the length and nature of the lock's speech familiar from epigram. The lock

[496] Cf. Harder 1998: 110–11. [497] Harder 1998: 97. [498] See Harder 1998: 97–8.
[499] Cf. Bing 1988: 68–9. [500] Cf. Simon. *PMG* 581.5–6, see Harder 1998: 98.
[501] Cf. *Epigr*. 15 Pf. (on which see Walsh 1991: 97–103, Meyer 1993: 166, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 318–19). Cf. also *Epigr*. 58 Pf.
[502] See Harder 1998: 98.

speaks for some ninety lines, and there is comic exploration of the way locks of hair would feel:

> τί πλόκαμοι ῥέξωμεν, ὅτ' οὔρεα τοῖα σιδή[ρῳ
> εἴκουσιν; Χαλύβων ὡς ἀπόλοιτο γένος
>
> What are we locks to do, when mountains like those to iron
> yield? May the race of Chalybes be destroyed. (vv. 47–8)

Callimachus uses the familiar *topos* about the power of iron and its regrettable discovery to portray the personality of the lock. This lock is mourned by its sisters (fr. 110.51 Pf.), and its descriptions seem appropriately lush for the scented hair of Berenice:

> καὶ πρόκατε γνωτὸς Μέμνονος Αἰθίοπος
> ἵετο κυκλώσας βαλιὰ πτερὰ θῆλυς ἀήτης,
> ἵ̣ππ̣ο[ς] ἰοζώνου Λοκρίδος Ἀρσινόης,
>]ασε δὲ πνοιῇ μ̣ε, δι' ἠέρα δ' ὑγρὸν ἐνείκας
> Κύπρ]ιδος εἰς κόλπους ἔθηκε
>
> And straightaway the brother of Aethiopian Memnon
> set off, whirling his spotted wings, gentle wind,
> mount of violet-girdled Locrian Arsinoe,
> . . . and with a sigh me, and bearing me through the moist air
> he put me into Cypris' lap . . . (fr. 110.52–6 Pf.)

THE *IAMBI*

Introduction

It is in the *Iambi* that we see Callimachus making greatest use of quasi-biography and experimenting most fully with narrators grounded on biographical facts (or assumptions) about the author. Here Callimachus also explicitly takes an Archaic poet as a model. Alongside Hipponax we find also Archilochus (of course), choral lyric and epigram. I shall not take the poems one by one, because of the very fragmentary state of preservation of many of the poems (especially *Iamb.* 8–11), and because the *Iambi* is a carefully designed poetry book,[503] which has as a primary concern speakers, their self-irony, and their development.[504] That it is a poetry book designed

[503] Compare Callimachus' *Hymns*. On the coherence of voice in Hellenistic poetry books see Gutzwiller 1998: 7–12.

[504] Cf. Hunter 1997: 47, Kerkhecker 1999: 294–5.

thus by the author is clear from the careful metrical, dialectical, structural and thematic patterns which unite the collection.[505]

Whether this poetry book contained thirteen poems or seventeen is controversial – should we include Callimachus' so-called μέλη or 'lyric' poems (frr. 226–9 Pf.) in the *Iambi*?[506] Two major recent studies of the *Iambi* both favour a collection of thirteen poems,[507] ending with the strongly closural *Iamb*. 13, which looks back in 'metre, theme, and detail' to the opening poem of the book.[508] Alan Cameron, among others, has argued for a collection of seventeen poems,[509] citing (e.g.) the seventeen *Epodes* of Horace, various thematic connections between *Iamb*. 1–13 and the 'lyric' poems,[510] and the difficulties in having a book of 'lyric' poems with only four poems, which would not be sufficient to fill a normal papyrus roll. However, as Acosta-Hughes has recently pointed out, we know nothing about the length of frr. 226–9 Pf. either individually or as a group – we simply cannot tell how much of a papyrus roll these four poems would have taken up.[511] We cannot, then, be certain that the *Iambi* contained only thirteen poems, but this seems more likely to me on the available evidence. In any case *Iamb*. 1–13 do hold together as a distinct collection of poems (even if the *Iambi* went on to greater thematic and metrical variety in the subsequent four poems), and *Iamb*. 13 is at least a kind of 'closing epilogue', as Cameron himself describes it,[512] whether or not it formed the end of the book of *Iambi*. I assume a collection of thirteen *Iambi*, which carefully depict the development of the narrator 'Callimachus' through the collection, culminating in the response to the critics in *Iamb*. 13.

Kerkhecker has pointed out this development on the part of 'Callimachus', the primary narrator, through the book of *Iambi*, describing how in *Iamb*. 1–4 'Callimachus' gradually accommodates his iambic voice

[505] E.g. metre: stichic scazons (1–4), epodes (5–7), stichic metres (8–13 – assuming 8 to be stichic); 'ring composition' of 1 and 13, metrical, thematic and verbal – cf., e.g., Dawson 1950: 142–3, Clayman 1980: 46–9, Kerkhecker 1999: 282–5, Acosta-Hughes 2002: 9–13.

[506] The μέλη are attested in the *Suda* (v. Καλλίμαχος, T1.12 Pf.), and Pfeiffer conjectured that frr. 226–9 Pf. belonged in this category rather than within the *Iambi*.

[507] Kerkhecker 1999: 271–82 and Acosta-Hughes 2002: 4, 9–13, though the latter is more tentative, and suggests the possibility that frr. 226–9 Pf. were added to an original collection of thirteen *Iambi*, either by a later editor or by Callimachus himself. Cf. also now Lelli: 2004: 7–22 on *Iambi* 1–13 as a group introduced by *Iamb*. 1.

[508] Kerkhecker 1999: 278.

[509] Cameron 1995: 163–73. Cf. also D'Alessio 1996: I.44–5 and now Lelli 2005 on the *Iambi* as containing seventeen poems.

[510] See, however, the powerful objections of Kerkhecker 1999: 281–2 to these thematic links.

[511] See Acosta-Hughes 2003.

[512] Cameron 1995: 172–3.

to the new situation outlined by the returned Hipponax in *Iamb*. 1,[513] who announces that his new *iambos* 'does not sing of the battle with Bupalus' (vv. 3–4), and gives the assembled moral advice instead.[514] By *Iamb*. 5, where the *Diegesis* describes 'Callimachus' as speaking ἐν ἤθει εὐνοίας ('in a spirit of friendship'), we can see the beginnings of a more mellowed iambicist, whose voice we then hear in what Kerkhecker calls the first 'friendship-poem', *Iamb*. 6 (cf. also *Iamb*. 12), and whose difference from the Archaic iambicist of abuse, and similarity to the new Hipponax of *Iamb*. 1, is demonstrated by the defence against his critics which 'Callimachus' gives in *Iamb*. 13.[515] I think it is possible to extend Kerkhecker's insight and see the development of 'Callimachus' through the *Iambi* as a kind of 'moral' or quasi-moral progress, which is attended with difficulties and backsliding, towards the Hipponactean ideal which the returned Hipponax represents in *Iamb*. 1. It seems to me that this progress is only completed or confirmed as completed in *Iamb*. 13, where 'Callimachus' most closely resembles the Hipponax of *Iamb*. 1.

Several features of the collection of *Iambi* suggest that we should interpret the progress of 'Callimachus' in this way, rather than just as a progressive focusing of the new iambic voice of the *Iambi*.The returned Hipponax of *Iamb*. 1 is urging a moral lesson of sorts to his Alexandrian audience, which is of φιλοσόφους ('philosophers') according to *Dieg*. VI.3 (corrected to φιλολόγους ('scholars') in the papyrus, and followed by Pfeiffer). In the next poem we hear a fable of Aesop, who Acosta-Hughes–Scodel have recently argued is an important model for the poet in the *Iambi*.[516] Aesop, of course, is a moralising 'wise man', who shares, as Acosta-Hughes–Scodel emphasise, many characteristics with Socrates – both are killed on a false charge of impiety,[517] both are snub-nosed,[518] and the two are closely associated in Plato's *Phaedo*.[519] The new Hipponax of *Iamb*. 1, and the voice of 'Callimachus' in the *Iambi*,[520] strongly recall

[513] See Kerkhecker 1999: 291–3, who describes the *Iambi* as the 'poet's self-critical experiment with his own persona' (1999: 294).

[514] See further below. [515] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 293.

[516] Cf. Acosta-Hughes–Scodel 2004: 13–16, 18–19.

[517] Aesop was falsely accused of theft from a sanctuary and killed by the Delphians. Cf. Acosta-Hughes–Scodel 2004: 3–4.

[518] See Acosta-Hughes–Scodel 2004: 11.

[519] Pl. *Phd*. 60c–61b, where Socrates renders Aesop's fables into verse – cf. ᾄδοντα μῦθον (*Iamb*. 2.17) of Aesop 'singing his tale' to the Delphians. Cf. Acosta-Hughes–Scodel 2004: 4 with n. 9.

[520] Cf. Falivene 1993: 922–3, who notes the admonitory tone of the whole book of *Iambi*, not just *Iamb*. 1.

the moralising of figures such as Aesop, Socrates and the Cynics.[521] The book as a whole charts the moral progress of 'Callimachus' in his attempts to conform to the moral lesson delivered by Hipponax in the opening poem of the book.[522]

Speakers, self-irony and the progress of 'Callimachus'

The first voice we hear in the *Iambi* is not Callimachus', but belongs to Hipponax, returned from Hades – Ἀκούσαθ' Ἱππώνακτος· ('Listen to Hipponax!', *Iamb*. 1.1). Such a self-naming is in fact typical of the Archaic Hipponax, who names himself at frr. 36.2, 37, 79.9, 117.4 W. Interestingly, no self-naming survives from the fragments of Archilochus. The naming of the speaker advertises that he is not Callimachus,[523] and the character of the audience implies that the scholar-poet Callimachus is contained within it.[524] Using a speaker who is not the poet is also a technique we have observed in Archaic *iambos*, and it is appropriate for the beginning of a book of *Iambi*.[525] The tale of Bathycles' cup is framed as an aetiology and Hipponax displays considerable learning, but this does not introduce ambiguity between Callimachus and Hipponax:[526] the Archaic Hipponax *already* seemed 'Hellenistic' in his learning and allusiveness, 'a kind of proto-Hellenistic poet'.[527]

The lesson which Hipponax is trying to teach these gathered scholars, to avoid quarrelling (ἥκουσι δ' αὐτοῖς κατ' εἴλας ἀπαγορεύει φθονεῖν ἀλλήλοις, 'when they had come in their droves he dissuaded them from envying one another', *Dieg*. VI.4–6), also has particular point if one of their number is the poet who portrayed himself under attack from the Telchines and Phthonos, and himself derided the *Lyde* (fr. 398 Pf.).[528]

[521] See on Socratic elements in the *Iambi* Hunter 1997: 49–50, on the moralising of the narrators of the *Iambi* as parodies of Cynic–Stoic diatribe see Freudenburg 1993: 18, 103–8.

[522] I also treat the subject of the progress of the narrator in Callimachus' *Iambi* in a recent article, Morrison 2006, where I outline how this moral progress is echoed and modified by Horace in *Epistles* 1.

[523] See, however, Clayman 1980: 56–7, who thinks that this 're-incarnated' Hipponax 'is none other than Callimachus himself', on the grounds of the Alexandrian setting and audience.

[524] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 34. The audience is composed of scholars (if φιλολόγους at *Dieg*. VI.3 is correct) and poets (κα]τηύλησθ' . . . | . . . Μουσέων . . . Ἀπόλλωνος, 'you're *aulos*-mad . . . of the Muses . . . of Apollo', *Iamb*. 1.7–8).

[525] Cf. Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 9–10, drawing attention to Arist. *Rh*. 1418b 28–33 on Archilochus' use of other voices. The twist in Callimachus, as Acosta-Hughes 2002: 40–1 notes, is to use the voice of one of the composers of Archaic *iambos*, rather than one of its characters.

[526] Dawson 1950: 23. See, however, Depew 1992: 320.

[527] Brown 1997: 87 n. 34.

[528] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 34.

This Hipponax, however, is different. He has abandoned Bupalus (*Iamb.* 1.3–4), his traditional target (ὁ μητροκοίτης Βούπαλος σὺν Ἀρήτῃ, 'Bupalus the motherfucker with Arete', Hippon. fr. 12 W.). His invective is no longer to protect the community by attacking a threat to it, as Archilochus is thought to do,[529] or to avenge what is presented as a personal affront, as the Archaic Hipponax appears to have done.[530] He teaches a moral lesson, using the tale of Bathycles' cup and its treatment by the Seven Sages (*Iamb.* 1.31ff.). So far were they from squabbling that each passed the cup to another of the group as the possession of the greatest of their number. The Archaic Hipponax may have used this tale (frr. 63 and 123 W. mention two of the Seven Sages).[531] If so, the shift to its use as an *exemplum* of how to behave is a marker of the difference between the new Hipponax and the old – moral instruction replaces straightforward insult.[532]

In the *Iambi* as a whole there are few explicit targets,[533] and the invective is indirect and oblique,[534] as compared to the more forceful approach of Archaic *iambos* (cf. Hippon. fr. 12 W., quoted above). One particularly important aspect of the indirectness of Callimachus' *Iambi* is irony at the narrator's expense, as Kerkhecker emphasises.[535] In *Iamb.* 1 Hipponax appears to include iambicists in his condemnation of quarrelling scholars – ἴ]αμβον ὅστι[ς ('whoever [writes?] *iambos*', *Iamb.* 1.21), and by implication attacks Callimachus the scholar-poet (and writer of *iambi*).[536] But, of course, because Callimachus is the author of *Iamb.* 1, now turned to advice and against strife, he is acting as Hipponax is preaching.[537] This is the first example of a feature which runs throughout the collection. Often this self-irony derives from the gap between the narrator and the recommendations of the new Hipponax in *Iamb.* 1, as 'Callimachus' (who first appears as the narrator in *Iamb.* 2) progresses towards this new Hipponactean ideal.

In *Iamb.* 2 the narrator is 'Callimachus', as the *Diegesis* does not specify another speaker (parenthetic φησίν, 'he says', VI.29).[538] The mention of

[529] See Brown 1997: 69 and Kerkhecker 1999: 294 on the lack of a 'public' or 'political' element in Callimachus' *Iambi*.
[530] Cf. Brown 1997: 87–8.
[531] See Depew 1992: 319, Hunter 1997: 48, Acosta-Hughes 2002: 143–4.
[532] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 34, Acosta-Hughes 2002: 146.
[533] See, however, Clayman 1980: 58, Lelli 2004: 7–22.
[534] Cf. Clayman 1980: 59. [535] E.g. Kerkhecker 1999: 293–4.
[536] We have already had indications that Callimachus is in the audience of scholars and poets (*Dieg.* VI.3, *Iamb.* 1.7–8) – cf. above.
[537] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 34.
[538] Characteristics of the narrator's voice here, such as the learned periphrases, e.g. men as 'the clay of Prometheus' (v. 3), also recall 'Callimachus' – cf. Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 11.

Aesop as the source of the animal fable told there (*Iamb*. 2.15–16) marks a further example of the un-Archaic indirectness of the *Iambi*,[539] and associates the new Hipponactean *iambos* of the *Iambi* with the moralising figure of Aesop.[540] *Iamb*. 2 frames the receipt of animal voices by humans as an aetiology (ἐκεῖθεν, 'from that', *Iamb*. 2.15) for men's loquacity (πάντες . . . | καὶ πουλύμυθοι καὶ λάλοι πε̣φ[ύκασιν, 'all . . . are full of words and talk too much', *Iamb*. 2.13–14), which they already exhibited before the transfer: ὥσπερ οὐ κάρτ[ος | ἡμέων ἐχόντων χἠτέροις ἀπάρξασθαι ('as if we weren't able to give away some of our share to others', *Iamb*. 2.8–9). Zeus also takes away 'speech' from animals (τὸ φθέ̣[γμα, *Iamb*. 2.7), but gives men their *voices* (φωνήν, *Iamb*. 2.13). This 'complicated failure' is, Kerkhecker argues, the narrator's,[541] and shows us that the joke here is partly on him – he gets carried away with his invective (he too is loquacious),[542] and this overcomes concern with logic and consistency. But the abuse of Eudemus, Philton and the tragedians (*Iamb*. 2.10–13) also demonstrates that this 'Callimachus' is not yet the new Hipponax – he still indulges in literary polemic and initiates, or perpetuates, quarrels.

The next two *Iambi*, where 'Callimachus' is again the narrator, further emphasise his distance from the new Hipponax. *Iamb*. 3 is cast in the form of prayer, as are Archilochus frr. 108 and 26 W. (to Apollo), and Hipponax frr. 3a (to Hermes) and 40 W. (to Malis/Athena). But the prayer in *Iamb*. 3 functions differently – it is not for help or success, as the prayers in Archilochus and Hipponax, it is rather a complaint about the fact that wealth is now prized ahead of virtue, and a consequent wish to have lived in the past: εἰθ' ἦν, ἄναξ ὤπολλον, ἡνίκ' οὐκ ἦα, 'O Lord Apollo, I wish I'd lived when I did not', *Iamb*. 3.1). This criticism of the times also has Archaic models, such as Hesiod's wish to have avoided the Iron Age (*Op*. 174–6).[543]

The poem reveals the narrator's motivation is a personal one, prompted by his own poverty and its damaging effect on his relationship with Euthydemus (με· φεῦ· τὸν ἄκληρο[ν, 'Oh! I am poor!', *Iamb*. 3.17).[544] This Euthydemus, introduced to a rich man by his mother (*Dieg*. VI.39–40), 'makes use of his youth for profit' (κεχρημένον τῇ ὥρᾳ πορισμῷ, *Dieg*. VI.39). Hence the narrator himself has been rejected, to such a degree that Euthydemus and his mother will not even share fire with

[539] So Kerkhecker 1999: 59. [540] See Acosta-Hughes–Scodel 2004: 8–12 and pp. 201–2 above.
[541] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 58. [542] Cf. also pp. 206–7 below.
[543] Cf. Trypanis 1958: 174 and p. 96 above. [544] So Kerkhecker 1999: 70–5 with n. 40.

him, though this is the most basic of courtesies (*Iamb*. 3.24–5). The poem clearly ironises, then, the narrator's earlier sentiments bemoaning contemporary greed and its dishonouring of the Muses, very different from the past (perhaps Μοῦσ]αι καὶ σὺ κάρτ' ἐ[ṭ]ịμᾶσθε, '[the Muses] and you were greatly honoured', *Iamb*. 3.2),[545] when he says:

>].ν μοι τοῦτ' ἂν ἦν ὀνήϊσ[το]ν̣
> .]υ̣[.]. [.]Κ[υβή]βῃ τὴν κόμην ἀναρρίπτειν
> Φρύγ[α] πρ̣[ὸς] αὐλὸν ἢ ποδῆρες ἕλκοντα̣
> Ἄδω[ν]ιν αἰαῖ, τῆς θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον,
> ἰηλεμίζειν· ν̣ῦν δ' ὁ μάργος ἐς Μούσας
> ἔνευσα
>
> For me this would be more profitable
> to shake my hair for Cybebe accompanied by
> the Phrygian *aulos*, or dragging a robe reaching to my feet
> to bewail Adonis (oh! oh!), the man of the goddess.
> But now, intemperate fool, I've inclined to the Muses.
>
> (*Iamb*. 3.34–9)

As Kerkhecker explains,[546] the narrator clearly rates wealth (ὀνήϊσ[το]ν, 'most profitable', v. 34) over poetry just as much as anyone else of his time.

In the next poem the narrator is again the main focus,[547] though formally *Iamb*. 4 is presented as an attack on one Simus, παῖ Χαριτάδεω ('son of Charitades', *Iamb*. 4.1). Simus interrupts 'Callimachus' (ὁ ποιητής, 'the poet', *Dieg*. VII.2) and an interlocutor, which prompts 'Callimachus' to tell a fable which takes up most of the poem. This fable depicts the argument of a laurel and an olive as to which is superior, which is itself interrupted by a bramble (*Iamb*. 4.96ff.). If the bramble, then, corresponds to Simus, who is 'Callimachus', the laurel or the olive? This question is central to the poem.[548] The narrator, 'Callimachus', clearly wants us to associate him with the olive,[549] who in contrast to the abusive laurel (contrast the laurel's ὤφρων ἐλαίη, 'foolish olive', *Iamb*. 4.18, 28, 37, and the olive's ὦ πάντα καλή, 'most beautiful one', *Iamb*. 4.46) avoids straightforward abuse and subtly undermines the laurel's own

[545] So Dawson 1950: 33. Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 65. Acosta-Hughes 2002: 206 n. 2 is more sceptical.
[546] Kerkhecker 1999: 80. [547] See, however, Clayman 1980: 28–9.
[548] Lelli 2000 and 2004: 23–82 argues for a poetological interpretation of the question of the identity of the figures in the fable, identifying the olive as Callimachus, writer of epyllion, the laurel as Apollonius, and the bramble as the cyclic epic. But there is nothing in *Iamb*. 4 which prompts an interpretation based on views on epic. Cf. Acosta-Hughes–Scodel 2004: 11 n. 24.
[549] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 113–14.

arguments.[550] More importantly still, the olive uses her own 'fable', the bird-conversation, and her style is reminiscent of the narrator's,[551] e.g. in the use of self-interrupting parentheses (οὐ γάρ, 'isn't that it', narrator, *Iamb*. 4.1; φεῦ τῶν ἀτρύτων, οἷα κωτιλίζουσι, 'Oh! How they babble on without end!', olive, *Iamb*. 4.81).[552] There are also clear echoes of other poems by the historical Callimachus.[553]

The laurel, however, is the better parallel. *She* challenges the bramble in words strikingly like those of the narrator to Simus:[554]

ὦ κακὴ λώβη,
ὡς δὴ μἰ ἡμέων καὶ σύ;

Oh! What a terrible outrage!
You too are one of us, is that it?; (laurel, *Iamb*. 4.102–3)

Εἷς – οὐ γάρ; – ἡμέων, παῖ Χαριτάδεω, καὶ σύ

One of us too – isn't that it? – you're claiming to be, son of Charitades.
(narrator, *Iamb*. 4.1)

The laurel's challenge to the bramble is very similar to the narrator's challenge to Simus. Hence the primary narrator's own fable undermines his self-characterisation as the olive,[555] in marked contrast to the olive herself, whose fable helps her secure victory. There is still some way to go before 'Callimachus' becomes the new Hipponax – indeed in his similarity to the abusive laurel, who stands for the vitriolic iambicist of the past,[556] he resembles rather the Archaic Hipponax. In the poem where 'Callimachus' completes his progress in the *Iambi*, *Iamb*. 13, we will find several references back to *Iamb*. 4 as well as to the opening poem of the collection.

From the fragments of the next poem, *Iamb*. 5, it is possible to discern some progress on the part of the narrator towards the ideal sketched out by

[550] Cf. Clayman 1980: 25 – the laurel argues that she is the prize at the Pythian Games (*Iamb*. 4.33), but the olive is the prize at the Olympics (*Iamb*. 4.58–9).
[551] For further stylistic parallels between 'Callimachus' and the olive see Edmunds 2001: 84–7.
[552] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 113–14.
[553] Dawson 1950: 54 points out the similarity of the bird-conversation in *Iamb*. 4 to the bird-conversation in the *Hecale* (frr. 71–4 H.), while Leto leaning against an olive tree (*Iamb*. 4.84), also mentioned by the olive, recalls *H*. 4.262 (Dawson 1950: 49). Further echoes of the *Hecale*, hence of Callimachus, are to be found in the mention of the different food the olive can provide (*Iamb*. 4.75–7), where we are pointed explicitly to Theseus (ἣν ἔπωνε χὠ Θησεύς, 'which even Theseus drank', *Iamb*. 4.77), who is fed with a variety of olives at *Hecale* fr. 36.4–5 H. (Kerkhecker 1999: 105).
[554] Cf. Clayman 1980: 28.
[555] As Kerkhecker 1999: 113–14 notes. This also means the narrator cannot simply be said to 'be' the laurel (Kerkhecker 1999: 114).
[556] Cf. Clayman 1980: 27.

the returned Hipponax in *Iamb*. 1.[557] 'Callimachus' is now giving advice ἐν ἤθει εὐνοίας ('in a spirit of friendship', *Dieg*. VII.23), urging a teacher to abandon his erotic involvement with his pupils ('quench the fires of love', *Iamb*. 5.22–6, cf. *Dieg*. VII.23–4) for his own good (μὴ ἁλῷ, 'so he isn't caught', *Dieg*. VII.24, cf. 'hold back the horses, lest you crash', *Iamb*. 5.26–9). Appropriately enough, *Iamb*. 5 has a formal Hipponactean model in Hippon. fr. 118 W. – both are epodes (choliambs and trimeters, trimeters and dimeters respectively), which begin with an apostrophe followed by an explanatory ἐπεί-clause, and claim to give advice:[558]

ὦ ξεῖνε – συμβουλὴ γὰρ ἔν τι τῶν ἱρῶν –
ἄκουε τἀπὸ καρδ[ίης,
ἐπεί σε δαίμων ἄλφα βῆτ[α

Friend – since advice is one of the holy things –
listen to what I have to say from the heart,
as a god . . . that you . . . [teach] A, B, C; (*Iamb*. 5.1–3)

ὦ Σάνν', ἐπειδὴ ῥῖνα θεό[συλιν φορ]εῖς
καὶ γαστρὸς οὐ κατακρα[τεῖς, . . .
τοὔς μοι παράσχες, [ ]
σύν τοί τι βουλεῦσαι θέ[λω

Sannus, since your nose is impious,
and you can't control your stomach, . . .
give me your ear . . . I want to give you some advice.
(Hippon. fr. 118.1–2, 5–6 W.)

In Hipponax advice is a cover for abuse (λαιμᾶι δέ σοι τὸ χεῖλος ὡς ἐρωιδιοῦ, 'your mouth is greedy like a heron's', Hippon. fr. 118.3 W.), and many have assumed the same situation in Callimachus.[559] But Hipponactean advice also recalls the changed, returned Hipponax of *Iamb*. 1, and the pseudo-oral response to his audience ἆ, μή με ποιήσῃς γέ[λω ('ah – don't make me a joke', *Iamb*. 5.30) also recalls Hipponax in *Iamb*. 1: ὦ λῷστε μὴ σίμαινε ('my friend, don't sneer', *Iamb*. 1.33). 'Callimachus'' addressee, in contrast to Hipponax's, is unnamed,[560] and he only hints at the teacher's problem. But it is impossible to say whether the poem later descended to abuse, as in Hipponax, or revealed some more

[557] Kerkhecker 1999: 292 points this out as a 'turning point' in the book of *Iambi* where a new tone is adopted.
[558] See, e.g., Bühler 1964: 237, Clayman 1980: 31.
[559] E.g. Bühler 1964: 239–40, Clayman 1980: 31. Cf. also *Dieg*. VII.20–1 γραμματο[δ]ιδάσκαλ[ο]ν . . . ἰαμβίζει, translated 'attacks in iambics a school teacher' by Trypanis 1958: 126.
[560] See Bühler 1964: 238.

personal or selfish motivation on the part of the narrator other than altruistic advice, as very little remains of *Iamb*. 5.35–68.[561]

In *Iamb*. 6 'Callimachus' is again the narrator, and this poem is perhaps the best example of sending up the speaker in the *Iambi*. 'Callimachus' describes the statue of Zeus to a friend who is sailing to Elis to see it. But this is an unusual *propemptikon*, as Kerkhecker has convincingly shown.[562] There is no wish for the friend's safe arrival or return home, and no sign that the narrator will miss his friend while he is on his travels.[563] Rather, we get the dispassionate recital of facts: διηγεῖται μῆκος ὕψος πλάτος βάσεως θρόνου ὑποποδίου αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὅση ἡ δαπάνη ('he recites the length, height, and width of the base, the throne, the footstool, the god himself and how much it cost', *Dieg*. VII.27–30); αὐτὸς δ' ὁ δαίμων πέντ[ε] τ[ᾶ]ς ἐφεδρ[ί]δος| παχέεσσι μάσσων ('the god himself is taller than the throne by five cubits', *Iamb*. 6.37–8). Hence, as Kerkhecker emphasises,[564] the narrator is also uninterested in making the *ekphrasis* vivid and lifelike. The figures in *Iamb*. 6 only come to life to argue about size:[565]

> παρθένοι γὰρ ϝΩραι
> τᾶν ὀργυιαιᾶν ὅσσον οὐδὲ πάσ̣[σα]ḷ̣ọ[ν
> φαντὶ μειονεκτεῖν.
>
> Because the maiden Horae
> say that they're not inferior to the six-foot [. . .] by a single peg.
> (*Iamb*. 6.42–4)

Kerkhecker convincingly argues that this is not a straightforward display of dry erudition, nor a parody of didactic,[566] but a satire on the speaker,[567] who fails to give the friend what he wants, as a traveller (no 'best wishes', no 'good luck', no hope of 'welcome back') and as a reader (vividness). He sends him on his way with statistics and a bare ἀπέρχευ ('off you go', *Iamb*. 6.62, the end of the poem).[568]

In the *Iambi* there is then an interruption of the development of 'Callimachus', as we meet a variety of speakers in *Iamb*. 7–11, and the poems become more fragmentary (and somewhat different in character – Hutchinson, for example, finds in them much more generic transgression).[569] In *Iamb*. 7 a statue of Hermes speaks (Ἑρμᾶς ὁ Περφεραῖος, Αἰνίων θεός, | ἔμμι, 'I am Hermes Perpheraeus, god of the Aenians', *Iamb*. 7.1–2),

[561] See Kerkhecker 1999: 141–2. [562] See Kerkhecker 1999: 171–4.
[563] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 173. [564] Kerkhecker 1999: 164–71, esp. 168–71.
[565] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 178–9. [566] Cf., e.g., Dawson 1950: 72, Clayman 1980: 34–5.
[567] Kerkhecker 1999: 179. [568] So Kerkhecker 1999: 173. [569] See Hutchinson 1988: 55.

Iamb. 9 is a dialogue between an ἐραστής ('lover', *Dieg*. VIII.34) and another statue of Hermes,[570] while *Iamb*. 11 is spoken by one Connidas. So little is preserved of *Iamb*. 8 and 10 that it is difficult to be sure of the speakers,[571] though perhaps fr. 200b Pf., from *Iamb*. 10, is easiest to attribute to 'Callimachus': τὴν ὠγαμέμνων, ὡς ὁ μῦθος, εἵσατο, | τῇ καὶ λίπουρα καὶ μονῶπα θύεται ('Agamemnon, so the story goes, dedicated her, to whom even animals without tails or missing an eye are sacrificed'), where the 'they say' statement might suggest scholarship and hence some play with the historical Callimachus.

With the last two *Iambi* (12 and 13) we return to 'Callimachus' and to better preserved poems.[572] *Iamb*. 12 purports to be occasional (cf. the epinician *Iamb*. 8) – it is for the seventh-day celebration of one Leon's daughter (*Dieg*. IX.25–8). Here we seem to be very far from iambic abuse:[573]

> τοὔνεκ' ἀντήσ̣[αιτε] πρῃξεῖαι, θεαί,
> τῇσδ' ἐτῆς εὐχῇ̣[σι]. . ᾳ̣εισομαι
> Μ̣οῦσα τῇ μικκῇ τι τε. . ηναι μελ̣[
>
> Hence gently receive, goddesses,
> these genuine prayers . . . I will sing,
> Muse, for the little girl . . . (*Iamb*. 12.18–20)

'Callimachus' will sing (contrast the Μουσέων πεζὸν . . . νομόν, 'Muses' prose pasture', *Aet*. fr. 112.9 Pf.)[574] for the little girl. This song contains a mythic *exemplum*, the song of Apollo for the newborn Hebe, which was her finest gift, as Apollo himself declares: ἡ δ' ἐμὴ τῇ παιδὶ καλλίστη δόσι̣ς ('my finest gift for the child', *Iamb*. 12.68). Song is immortal, and unburdened by the evils gold brings (*Iamb*. 12.58ff.), so that Apollo's gift even 'Ηφαίστεια νικήσ̣ει̣ κ̣αλά ('beats Hephaestus' marvels', *Iamb*. 12.57). This, by implication, applies also to the song of 'Callimachus' for Leon's daughter – it will last, and is the greatest gift. The self-irony here derives from the domestication and private setting of this song,[575] itself reflected in

[570] Hence there is no primary narrator. The 'lover' is unlikely to be 'Callimachus', given the anonymous ἐραστής in the *Diegesis* (Kerkhecker 1999: 205), and because the 'autobiographical assumption' does not straightforwardly operate where there is no primary narrator.

[571] *Iamb*. 8 was an epinician in iambics for one Polycles of Aegina, and Kerkhecker 1999: 203–4 suggests on the basis of the epinician *Victoria Sosibii* (fr. 384 Pf.) and victory epigrams where the victor speaks (on which see Fuhrer 1993: 95), and the surrounding statue-as-speaker poems in the *Iambi*, that the narrator is a statue of the victor.

[572] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 218.

[573] I follow Kerkhecker 1999: 228–9 in printing τῇσδ' (dative) for Pfeiffer's genitive τῆσδ'.

[574] Although it is possible this epilogue alludes to Callimachus' prose works rather than the *Iambi* – cf. Hutchinson 2003: 58 n. 31.

[575] See Kerkhecker 1999: 246–9.

Apollo's song (cf. the toys Athena brings, *Iamb*. 12.27–8), and perhaps the pose of the poor poet – did 'Callimachus' offer a song because he affected to have nothing else?[576]

The idea of song as immortal recalls sentiments expressed in the public poetry of Pindar (e.g. ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει, 'the word lives longer than the deeds', *N*. 4.6) or the sympotic elegies of Theognis (e.g. 245–57),[577] but the context of a private celebration for a little girl produces a very different effect, more akin to the promises of immortality made by Sappho, such as fr. 147 V. μνάσεσθαί τινά φα<ι>μι †καὶ ἕτερον† ἀμμέων ('I say someone will remember us'), which may have gone on to associate this fame directly with the poem, given that Sappho strongly links a lack of remembrance with 'not sharing in Pieria's roses' in fr. 55.2–3 V.

We should set the contrast between Apollo's song and the offerings of Hephaestus (*Iamb*. 12.56ff.), and perhaps a narrator's pose of poverty, against characterisations such as Pindar's of wealth unused: οὐκ ἔραμαι πολὺν ἐν μεγάρῳ πλοῦτον κατακρύψας ἔχειν, | ἀλλ' ἐόντων εὖ τε παθεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι φίλοις ἐξαρκέων ('I do not want to keep much wealth hidden in a hall, but to live well from my possessions, and to have a good reputation for providing for my friends', *N*. 1.31–2). The inclusion of a mythic parallel for the narrator's song also has a precedent in the paradigmatic myth in choral lyric,[578] but again the context in *Iamb*. 12 is private, rather than public, festival. We can also discern this move from public to private in the friendship expressed through the poem by the narrator for 'Leon, a friend of the poet' (Λέοντι γνωρίμῳ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, *Dieg*. IX.27–8), where naming him produces a pseudo-intimate effect similar to that in Sappho or Alcaeus.[579] This is another domestication of Pindaric expressions of *xenia* for his patrons, which is very public and political in nature, and which Pindar can use to associate himself, and his poetry, with the continued political success of kings, e.g. Hieron of Syracuse:

> εἴη σέ τε τοῦτον ὑψοῦ χρόνον πατεῖν,
> ἐμέ τε τοσσάδε νικαφόροις
> ὁμιλεῖν πρόφαντον σοφίᾳ καθ' Ἕλλανας ἐόντα παντᾷ.

[576] As Kerkhecker 1999: 248–9 with n. 191 suggests. [577] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 247.
[578] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 247. Examples include Pindar's *Hymn to Zeus* (frr. 29–35 S.–M.) and the song of Apollo and the Muses, about the weddings of Zeus, at the wedding of Cadmus, on which see Snell 1953: 73–4, 81.
[579] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 221.

> May it be granted to you to walk on high through your time,
> and to me in mine to mix with victors
> as a beacon of wisdom among Greeks everywhere. (*O.* 1.115–16)

In *Iamb.* 12 the iambic metre seems to mark this personal involvement of the narrator, rather than marking him as a poet of invective, while in the final poem in the collection 'Callimachus' completes his progress.[580] As he was one of the scholars Hipponax addressed in *Iamb.* 1, he is now attacked by one such critic, and addresses him. We are at a symposium, obliquely indicated in the first line (Μοῦσαι καλαὶ κἄπολλον, οἷς ἐγὼ σπένδω, 'beautiful Muses and Apollo, to whom I pour libations', *Iamb.* 13.1).[581] This sympotic opening is probably spoken by 'Callimachus',[582] given its lack of abuse. When the text resumes the critic is attacking, and Kerkhecker suggests that one of the markers of his and his criticism's dubious status is his abuse of the convivial symposium.[583] The narrator, therefore, is probably recalling an incident in the past,[584] and quoting the conversation verbatim, as in Archilochus fr. 196a W.

The extant criticisms are Callimachus' ignorance of Hipponax's Ephesus and his mixing of dialects in the *Iambi*:

> οὔτ' Ἔφεσον ἐλθών, ἥτις ἐστι. αμ. [
> Ἔφεσον, ὅθεν περ οἱ τὰ μέτρα μέλλοντες
> τὰ χωλὰ τίκτειν μὴ ἀμαθῶς ἐναύονται
>
> not going to Ephesus . . .
> Ephesus, from where those who want
> to bring forth skilful choliambs are inspired; (*Iamb.* 13.12–14)
>
> τοῦτ' ἐμπ[έ]πλεκται καὶ λαλευσ|[. .] . .[
> Ἰαστὶ καὶ Δωριστὶ καὶ τὸ σύμμικ|τ̣ο̣ν[
>
> this has been woven in and . . .
> in Ionic and in Doric and in the two mixed up. (*Iamb.* 13.17–18)

'Callimachus' responds in a manner reminiscent of the Hipponax of *Iamb.* 1:[585]

> .]. . να|οιδος ἐς κέρας τεθύμωται
> κοτέω]ν ἀοιδῷ κἠμὲ δει. . ταπρᾳχ̣. . .[
>]. δ[ύ]ν̣ηται τὴν γενὴν ἀνακρίνει

[580] As Kerkhecker 1999: 293 puts it, he 'proves himself the true disciple of Hipponax', that is the Hipponax of *Iamb.* 1.
[581] So Kerkhecker 1999: 252, who notes the parallel with *H.* 1.1. Acosta-Hughes 2002: 62 is more cautious.
[582] As Kerkhecker 1999: 252–3 argues against Pfeiffer 1949–53: I.207. Cf. also Acosta-Hughes 2002: 70.
[583] Kerkhecker 1999: 258. [584] See Kerkhecker 1999: 259. [585] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 266.

κα[ὶ] δοῦλον εἶναί φησι καὶ παλίμπρητον
καὶ τοῦ π̣ρ……ου τὸν βραχίονα στίζει,
ὥστ' οὐκ αικε̣[……]υ̣σιν α̣. λ̣. . υ̣σαι
φαύλοις ὁμι[λ]εῖ̣[ν….]. ν π̣α̣ρέπτησαν
καὐταὶ τρομεῦσα̣ι̣ μὴ κακῷ̣ς ἀ̣κούσωσι

poet (?) is angry and begrudges poet,
to the extent of using his horns . . . and me . . .
. . . he can . . . he examines his ancestry and says he's a slave
and a good-for-nothing one at that, . . .
and he marks his arm, so . . .
. . . to have anything to do with bad people . . .
they flew past, afraid they too would be criticised. (*Iamb.* 13.52–9)

He points out the damage that envy can do – it brings violence,[586] and keeps away the Muses (the αὐταί, 'they', of v. 59).[587] As several scholars have seen, there are close verbal parallels with *Iamb.* 1 – e.g. ὦ λῷστε ('my friend', *Iamb.* 1.33) ~ ὦ λῷστ' ('my friend', *Iamb.* 13.24, the beginning of the reply of 'Callimachus'),[588] and a possible quotation of *Iamb.* 1.91–2 at *Iamb.* 13.25–6 (line-endings [πέ]πλον, τὰς [Μο]ύσας (*Iamb.* 1.91, 2), πέπλ[ον, τὰς Μοῦσας (*Iamb.* 13.25, 6).[589] 'Callimachus' has taken up the role Hipponax had in *Iamb.* 1, and is now lecturing the scholars.[590] As the olive had in *Iamb.* 4, he is also turning his critic's arguments against him (he quotes the critic's comments about Ephesus back to him at *Iamb.* 13.64–6),[591] and even quotes from the olive's speech (ὡς τῆς ἐλαίης, ἣ ἀνέπαυσε τ̣ὴν Λητώ, 'as of the olive, which gave rest to Leto', *Iamb.* 13.62 ~ τὸ τ]ῆς ἐλαίης ἣ ἀν[έπαυσ]ε τὴν Λητώ, 'that of the olive, which gave rest to Leto', *Iamb.* 4.84).[592] 'Callimachus' has completed his progress.

Quasi-biography and 'Callimachus'

Despite the fragmentary state of the *Iambi* we can usually be sure of the identity of the speaker. This is because the first line normally identifies the speaker if he is not 'Callimachus' (*Iamb.* 1, 7, 11). If the narrator *is* closely grounded on the historical author, this is often apparent from the poem,

[586] Cf. *Iamb.* 1.79: καὶ 'φευγε· βάλλει· φευγ" ἐρεῖ 'τὸν ἄνθρωπον', ' "run away – he's attacking", he'll say, "run away from the man" ', with Kerkhecker 1999: 269 n. 114.
[587] Kerkhecker 1999: 266, Acosta-Hughes 2002: 97.
[588] See Clayman 1980: 46, Depew 1992: 325, Acosta-Hughes 2002: 12, 89–91.
[589] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 260. [590] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 270.
[591] Kerkhecker 1999: 267–8, Acosta-Hughes 2002: 99.
[592] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 267, Acosta-Hughes 2002: 99–100.

but in any case we can assume 'Callimachus' is the speaker by the 'autobiographical assumption'.[593]

We can often support this by means of the *Diegesis*, which suggests that it takes the narrator of an iambus to be 'Callimachus' when it does not name or otherwise specify a subject for the actions it describes in a poem (as in *Iamb*. 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 13), or explicitly states this is ὁ ποιητής ('the poet', *Dieg*. VII.2 [*Iamb*. 4]; τοῦ ποιητοῦ, 'of the poet', *Dieg*. IX.27–8 [*Iamb*. 12]). When the speaker is clearly *not* 'Callimachus', the *Diegesis* usually indicates this, in addition to the first line it quotes, either by direct reference, as to the anonymous ἐραστής ('lover', *Dieg*. VIII.34 [*Iamb*. 9]), or by extensive use of the passive (*Dieg*. to *Iamb*. 7).

There is considerable play with biographical facts or beliefs about the historical Callimachus in the *Iambi*. This is perhaps clearest in *Iamb*. 4, where there are clear references in the speech of the olive to the *Hecale*, and clear affinities of style with 'Callimachus' in *Iamb*. 4 and the *Iambi* as a whole.[594] In general the picture of a quarrelling Callimachus picks up the impression built up in different way in various Callimachean poems that Callimachus was engaged in, or affected by, literary controversies (e.g. the *Aetia* prologue). This interest in poetic debates is an important part of the persona of 'Callimachus' in the *Iambi*, and seems likely to have been based in some manner on facts about the historical author. This feature of 'Callimachus' is prominent in *Iamb*. 13, where the narrator portrays himself as under attack from an unnamed critic for various features of the *Iambi* (e.g. its 'mixture' of dialects, *Iamb*. 13.16–18), and of its author, chief of which is his not travelling (οὔτ' Ἔφεσον ἐλθών, 'not going to Ephesus', *Iamb*. 13.12). This biographical 'fact' makes it clear how such 'facts' can arise and become part of a poetic persona. At *Aet*. fr. 178 Pf., an interlocutor of 'Callimachus' (here a tertiary narrator) declares to him:

> τρισμάκαρ, ἦ παύρων ὄλβιός ἐσσι μέτα,
> ναυτιλίης εἰ νῆιν ἔχεις βίον· ἀλλ' ἐμὸς αἰών
> κύμασιν αἰθυίης μᾶλλον ἐσῳκίσατο
>
> Thrice-blessed, you're truly one of the blessed few,
> if your life knows nothing of sailing. But my life
> is more at home on the waves than the gull. (vv. 32–4)

Scholars have long taken this as an indication that Callimachus never travelled as far as Greece or Asia Minor, but this has recently been doubted – it is naïve

[593] See p. 31 above. [594] Cf. pp. 205–6 above.

to identify narrator and author so completely.[595] This is fair, but there must be some reason why Callimachus plays, at least twice in his most 'autobiographical' works, with this idea of not having travelled. Perhaps he often expressed a dislike for travel (not easy in the ancient world, as Kerkhecker notes):[596] 'I never travel.' But a dislike of travelling implies at least limited travel. Perhaps Callimachus alludes to a common topic of conversation, or a commonly expressed opinion.[597] In any case, realising that fr. 178 Pf. does not demonstrate Callimachus' non-travelling does not license inferences such as that the *Hecale* implies a visit to Attica or *Epigr*. 24 Pf. on the Thracian Rider-god travel to Thrace.[598] Could some ethnographical work in the Library not have recorded the ubiquity of such statues?

Iamb. 6 may also play with the idea of Callimachus as never travelling. Do we have in *Iamb*. 6 a 'failed' *propemptikon* describing the statue of Olympian Zeus at Elis – a statue described in minute detail by a famous non-traveller?[599] Is this why the poem fails to wish the traveller *bon voyage* or *bon retour*? Can Callimachus get nothing right when it comes to travelling?

Other such biographical 'facts' (distortions, assumptions, variously caused) in the *Iambi* include a close association with poetry, poverty, scholarship, erotic involvements and perhaps the tradition that Callimachus had been a teacher. His being a poet, in particular his having a relationship with the Muses (Μοῦσαι γὰρ ὅσους ἴδον ὄθματι παῖδας | μὴ λοξῷ, πολιοὺς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους, 'because the Muses do not send away their friends when they're old, if they looked favourably on them as children', *Aet*. fr. 1.37–8 Pf.; note also the dialogue with the Muses in *Aetia* 1–2), and Apollo (Ἀ[πό]λλων εἶπεν ὅ μοι Λύκιος, 'Lycian Apollo said to me', *Aet*. fr. 1.22 Pf.; note also the end of *H*. 2), is important in *Iamb*. 3 (ὁ μάργος ἐς Μούσας | ἔνευσα, 'intemperate fool, I've inclined to the Muses', *Iamb*. 3.38–9), 12 (Δ]ήλι' ὤπολλον, σὺ, 'you, Delian Apollo', *Iamb*. 12.47; εἶκ' ἄναξ, 'grant, lord', *Iamb* 12.79) and 13 (Μοῦσαι καλαὶ κἄπολλον, οἷς ἐγὼ σπένδω, 'beautiful Muses and Apollo, to whom I pour libations', *Iamb*. 13.1).

Iamb. 12 may, and *Iamb*. 3 certainly does, play with Callimachus' alleged poverty (again, an elastic and conveniently relative concept, as well as a *topos* with regard to lovers and poets).[600] In *Aet*. fr. 112.5–6 Pf. 'Callimachus' is a

[595] See Cameron 1995: 211. [596] Kerkhecker 1999: 173.
[597] These are not the only possibilities, of course, but serve *exempli gratia*.
[598] So Cameron 1995: 211–12. [599] As Kerkhecker 1999: 174 n. 137 suggests.
[600] On the possible poverty of 'Callimachus' in *Iamb*. 12 see Kerkhecker 1999: 248–9.

shepherd boy (τῷ Μοῦσαι πολλὰ νέμοντι βοτά | σὺν μύθους ἐβάλοντο παῤ ἴχν[ι]ον ὀξέος ἵππου, 'the Muses told him stories as he tended his large flock by the quick horse's footmark'),[601] therefore poor, while the narrator of *Epigr*. 46 Pf. claims to have both remedies against love, that is poetry and poverty (vv. 4–7).[602] 'Callimachus' is both a poet, and poor. The pedantically exact description in *Iamb*. 6 exploits another common characteristic of 'Callimachus', his scholarship, as does the indication of a source for a narrative in *Iamb*. 2 (Aesop, *Iamb*. 2.15–17) and 4 (the Lydians, *Iamb*. 4.7–8), and perhaps also *Iamb*. 10 (fr. 200b Pf. – ὡς ὁ μῦθος 'so the story goes').

Most intriguing, perhaps, is the address to a teacher of *Iamb*. 5. This seems suggestive in the light of the *Suda*'s statement that Callimachus γράμματα ἐδίδασκεν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι, κωμυδρίῳ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ('taught letters in Eleusis, a small suburb of Alexandria', T1.7–8 Pf.). Scholars have doubted this testimony,[603] particularly because it does not sit well with Callimachus' apparent Battiad heritage. It is quite possible that this poem itself gave rise to the account in the *Suda*,[604] perhaps explaining why Callimachus would know and could advise an elementary teacher (ἄλφα βῆτ[α, 'A, B, C', *Iamb*. 5.3), which is how the *Suda* presents him – γράμματα ἐδίδασκεν ('he taught letters'). But perhaps 'teacher' was a comical or satirical jibe commonly made at Callimachus' scholarship, or some more prestigious tutoring at some time in his life. If so, *Iamb*. 5 may allude to it. Perhaps some of the self-irony lay there – Callimachus the scholar-poet of the Museum presenting himself as a teacher alongside his addressee, making concrete a common joke against him.[605]

Inscribing orality

Archaic *iambos* was orally performed (though not so composed), and Callimachus' *Iambi* carefully recreate this context of oral performance.[606] *Iamb*. 1, for example, is mimetic in the manner of *H*. 2, 5, 6, and the opening words – 'Listen to Hipponax!' (*Iamb*. 1.1) – establish the situation,

[601] So Cameron 1995: 371, who argues that this description does not refer to Hesiod.
[602] Cf. also *Epigr*. 32.1 – μευ πλούτου κενεαὶ χέρες, 'my hands are empty of wealth'.
[603] E.g. Cameron 1995: 5–6. [604] Cf. Cameron 1995: 226.
[605] Again, I mean this scenario *exempli gratia*, to demonstrate the openness which the fragments and the *Suda* present.
[606] Edmunds 2001: 79 comments that the Hipponax of *Iamb*. 1 is a literate, rather than an oral, one, but though he urges the audience to write down what he says (*Iamb*. 1.31), and there are several indications of 'writing' (cf. Falivene 1993: 923, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 9), he is still presented as speaking to them in public, and they as listening to him. Cf. Bruss 2004: 53, 60–1.

a lecture by Hipponax *redivivus*. The *Iambi* could have been, indeed probably were, recited,[607] which has important consequences. If Callimachus recited the *Iambi* before an audience of Alexandrian scholars, this would have affected the original reception of *Iamb*. 1, or 13.[608] But *Iamb*. 1 will not have been performed outside the walls of Alexandria, at a temple of Sarapis, and the book of *Iambi* is also clearly designed for an afterlife 'in books',[609] as the careful design of the collection, which becomes clear through careful reading and rereading, demonstrates.[610] But though there is a break here with Archaic *iambos*, it is not complete. The setting for *Iamb*. 1 may be fictional, but there was also some fictionality about the scenes which Archaic poetry evoked (particularly on reperformance). Was Archilochus fr. 89 W. performed (composed?) while enemies attacked? No. It too creates a context for itself, though it was performed orally at a symposium or other gathering. Here again there is something in common with the *Iambi* – Archaic iambic poetry was not written for one performance (to Alexandrian scholars or citizens of Ephesus), but to be reperformed. Archaic poetry was not designed (solely) for a one-off show.[611]

Nevertheless, the oral contexts in which Archaic *iambos* had been originally performed had disappeared by the Hellenistic period (and the mimetic effects created in *Iamb*. 1, as in Callimachus' mimetic hymns, go beyond anything in Archaic poetry). The inclusion of an oral context in the *Iambi* also marks a break with the past – the *Iambi* are self-conscious imitations, rather than straightforward further examples of the genre.[612] The final poem in the collection even goes so far as to claim that a contemporary, Hellenistic poet can only compose in these genres, imitate them, if he is able enough to recreate the occasions in which they were performed. This is the point of the echoes of Plato's *Ion*, and of the idea of one poet being limited to one type of poetry (*Iamb*. 13.31–3) – Callimachus' poetry, contrary to Plato's view, *is* a *techne*, and he can write in any genre, because he can reproduce their original contexts.[613] Going to Ephesus (*Iamb*. 12.64–6) will not license such poetry – one needs to create the context of *iambos* and include it along with the *Iambi*.[614]

[607] Cf. Cameron 1995: 64.
[608] See Barbantani 2001: 18–21, 43–4 on the Ptolemaic court as the first audience of Alexandrian poetry, and the different possible functions which such poetry could serve.
[609] Cf. Barbantani 2001: 12–13, who notes the fiction of orality in much Hellenistic poetry.
[610] As does the mimetic setting of lecturing scholars outside the walls of Alexandria, which creates the situation every time the poem is read. Cf. Falivene 1993: 925.
[611] Cf. pp. 38–42 above. [612] Cf. Konstan 1998: 136. [613] Cf. Depew 1992: 327, 1993: 64.
[614] See Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 15–16.

The most basic example of an oral situation is in *Iamb*. 9 – a dialogue. But we also find signs of a pseudo-oral, pseudo-spontaneous situation in much of the collection. In *Iamb*. 1 Hipponax reacts to the audience, as if extemporising, just after beginning the tale of Bathycles' cup:

> ἀνὴρ Βαθυκλῆς Ἀρκάς – οὐ μακρὴν ἄξω,
> ὦ λῷστε μὴ σίμαινε, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ᾽ αὐτός
> μέγα σχολάζ[ω·] δεῖ με γὰρ μέσον δινεῖν
> φεῦ φ]εῦ Ἀχέρο[ντ]ος –
>
> Bathycles, an Arcadian man – I will not speak at length,
> my friend, don't sneer at me, as even I do not
> have much time, since I must whirl back to the middle of
> alas, alas, Acheron. (*Iamb*. 1.32–5)

These lines imagine an audience member turning up his nose, and Hipponax responds to tell him he has little time and must return to Hades ('alas, alas' – cf. φεῦ in *Iamb*. 3 at v. 17, where the narrator laments his poverty). Such self-interruption and parenthesis is already a feature of Archaic *iambos*,[615] and the technique of pseudo-spontaneity is apparent in much Archaic literature.[616] Callimachus can use self-interruptions to give the impression that the audience/reader is overhearing a conversation, as in *Iamb*. 4 ('one of us too – isn't that it? – you're claiming to be, son of Charitades', *Iamb*. 4.1), or to characterise a monologue as spontaneous ('friend – since advice is one of the holy things – listen', *Iamb*. 5.1–2). We also find 'reacting' to the audience in *Iamb*. 5 ('ah – don't make me a joke', *Iamb*. 5.30) and 6, where the pseudo-orality is more oblique:

> τ[ὸ] δ᾽ ὧν ἀναισίμωμα – λίχνος ἐσσὶ [γάρ
> καὶ τό μευ πυθέσθαι –
>
> as for the spend – because you're greedy
> to also find this out from me –. (*Iamb*. 6.45–6)

The narrator hints that some facial expression or other indication prompts him to tell his addressee the cost of the statue. *Iamb*. 6 indicates its oral context in other ways too – the conversational final imperative (ἀπέρχευ, 'off you go' v. 62), the colloquial language employed (ὅσσον οὐδὲ πάσ[σα]λο[ν, 'not by a single peg', v. 43).[617]

[615] See Pfeiffer 1949–53: I.166 ad fr. 191.32–35 Pf., Kerkhecker 1999: 36. Cf., e.g., Hippon. fr. 36.1–2 W.: ἐμοὶ δὲ Πλοῦτος – ἔστι γὰρ λίην τυφλός – | ἐς τῷκῖ ἐλθὼν οὐδάμ᾽ ('wealth to me – for he is very blind – never comes to my house').

[616] See pp. 67–73 above.

[617] Cf. Kerkhecker 1999: 160.

Callimachus can also use the inclusion of an oral setting for the poems for particular effects in specific poems. In *Iamb*. 2, for example, the fable is confused, a superfluous aetiology for why men are 'full of words and talk too much' (v. 14), to which the narrator adds an illogical piece of invective – κύνος [μ]ὲ[ν] Εὔδημος, | ὄνου δὲ Φίλτων ('Eudemus has a dog's voice, Philton the voice of a donkey', vv. 10–11). The narrator has got carried away,[618] but we should expect this: he is a man, and therefore loquacious. Orality and aetiology combine to send up the speaker. *Iamb*. 4 operates in a similar manner, if more subtly, as its conversational situation, with the narrator responding to Simus' interruption with a fable, leaves room for this pseudo-extemporising speaker to go on too long, or to get the fable wrong. As we have seen, this is precisely what happens – the laurel challenges the bramble, as the narrator challenged Simus, and 'Callimachus' makes himself seem more like the irascible and defeated tree than the rational olive.[619]

OVERVIEW

The *Hymns*, *Aetia* and *Iambi* demonstrate that the voice of the primary narrator is central to the poetry of Callimachus. Callimachus uses various means to make the narrator prominent, such as the narratorial questions which open *H*. 1, the exclamations which begin *H*. 2 or extensive quasi-biography. More importantly, he employs the primary narrator to create broader effects, such as the developing ritual scenes of the mimetic hymns, and to provide unity to a work (e.g. *Aet*. 1–2) or a book (e.g. the *Iambi*, where the collection charts the progress of the narrator towards the Hipponactean ideal recommended in the first poem).

We find in Callimachus' poetry a wide range of different relationships between narrator and historical author, for example in the *Hymns*. *H*. 1 has little quasi-biography and no explicit identification of narrator and author, but aspects such as the narrator's erudition recall the historical author. *H*. 2 has a narrator much closer to the author, with a correspondingly greater use of quasi-biography. The narrator develops gradually, at times seemingly a worshipper, the master of ceremonies and the 'poet'. The poem also maintains a careful ambiguity as to the identity of the narrator in relation to the chorus which appears to sing in *H*. 2. This plays with the ambiguities thought to be present in Archaic poetry, particularly Pindar's *P*. 5, with a choral form but a personalised voice. *H*. 3 has little quasi-biography, and

[618] See Kerkhecker 1999: 58. [619] Kerkhecker 1999: 114–15.

the narrator does not appear to resemble the author. *H.* 4 has a narrator closely associated with the Muses, who fulfil a similar interlocutory role as in the *Aetia*, implying a narrator close to the author. In *H.* 5 the narrator's identity is ambiguous between female worshipper/priest and male author, which reflects the sexual ambiguity of the characters. In *H.* 6 the narrator is explicitly not the author but a female worshipper, and we should refer any erudite allusions to the implied author.

In the *Aetia* the narrator is clearly closely related to the historical author (where the narrator is not someone or something different, as often in *Aetia* 3–4), as the extensive quasi-biographical material such as nationality, dislike of travel and perhaps self-naming indicates. The *Iambi* display primary narrators which are usually even closer to the historical author. There is a great deal of quasi-biographical material, such as erotic involvements, a dislike of travel, being a teacher, quarrelling about poetry.[620]

We can see the importance of Archaic (non-epic) narratorial voices to Callimachus' narrators in the generally high level of narrator-prominence, the exploitation of the relationship of narrator and author, and the corresponding gap between them. Archaic poems exploit the gap to create a fiction of extempore composition, Callimachus uses it to create narrators with ambiguous identities (e.g. in the *Hymns*), and to ironise his narrators. This creation of self-irony well illustrates the complex adaptation of Archaic voices in Callimachus.

Callimachus harnesses Archaic 'moralising', for example, to undercut the authority of the narrator in *H.* 1. The narrator rejects a myth in a manner reminiscent of Pindar, but in doing so strongly implies his own account may not be true, and that he aims at plausibility, rather than truth. This in itself develops Archaic passages about the potential falsity of some poetic accounts. But such passages were foils to emphasise an Archaic narrator's own truth. In Callimachus they are used to ironise the narrator. In *H.* 6 we also find 'moralising' and echoes of Archaic poetry (Hesiod). Callimachus presents the narrator in such a way, however, as to emphasise the simplicity of her moral attitudes, and their self-centred nature.

There is a widespread concern in Callimachus to account for the knowledge of the narrator – to give his 'sources'. These can be scholarly, such as Xenomedes in *Aetia* fr. 75 Pf., or divine, such as the Muses in *Aetia* 1–2. In the *Hymns* the knowledge the narrators display varies according to their

[620] In the *Lyrics*, in contrast, there is much less quasi-biography, although the narrator does resemble the historical author to a degree. In the *Hecale*, however, there is no quasi-biography, the prominence of the narrator is very low, and there seems to be no connection to the author.

hypothetical sources – the narrator in *H.* 3 resembles an epic *aoidos*, which permits omniscience on the model of the Homeric narrator (with the Muses behind him), while the narrator in the obliquely indicated sympotic setting of *H.* 1 avoids direct speech in his narrative and relies on surmise.[621] Those in *H.* 2 and *H.* 5 are similarly strongly fixed in their mimetic settings, but Callimachus can account for their extensive knowledge by portraying their narratives as part of a pre-existing mass of stories or as explicitly not the narrator's (*H.* 2.30f., *H.* 5.55f.).[622]

We should relate such a concern to the problem of the authority and status of the poet in Hellenistic poetry. The detailing of sources, the regular undercutting of narratorial authority and the creation of narrators with ambiguous identities are all at the same time expressions of a concern about how to create new poetic voices and strategies for the creation of such voices. Nevertheless, not all narrators in Callimachus are presented ironically or undercut. The *Hecale* does not ironise its narrator, nor does *H.* 4. Both poems demonstrate that Callimachus is prepared to include passages of heightened tone which is not subsequently punctured.

Callimachus' mimetic hymns are among the most important texts for illustrating the use of Archaic narratorial voices and effects in Hellenistic poetry. They develop Archaic effects such as pseudo-intimacy created by the reperformance or rereading of Sappho's poetry, the fiction of ongoing extempore composition in Archaic poetry (e.g. Pindar's epinicians), and the fictionalised settings or developments in Archaic poetry (e.g. Archilochus).

The adaptation of Archaic models also helps to demonstrate that the so-called 'programmatic' passages in Callimachus do not form a literary-critical manifesto. Models for the function, position and imagery of the end of *H.* 2, for example, reveal that it restates its own poetic worth at the end of the poem (in vv. 105–13), a function familiar from Archaic poetry. The scene is more concrete than its Archaic equivalents, but it plays the same role. The *Aetia* prologue too, at the beginning of the *Aetia*, operates as a *captatio*. Though it too is a more concrete scene, it has a clear function within the poem. Callimachean aesthetics, such as they are, are revealed primarily by Callimachean practice, not in a dedicated 'programme'. We cannot read the end of *H.* 2 or the *Aetia* prologue as accurate guides to the qualities, and variety, of Callimachean poetry.

[621] See Harder 1992: 392–3. [622] See Harder 1992: 391.

CHAPTER 4

The narrators of Theocritus

SETTING THE SCENE

Theocritus presents different challenges from Callimachus for a study of Hellenistic primary narrators. We do not have the problem of important texts (such as the *Aetia* or *Iambi*) being fragmentary,[1] but we do have a very varied corpus which clearly takes in poems by different authors (e.g. *Idyll* 27) and of very different types (e.g. the 'bucolic' poems beside the more 'epic' *Idylls* 22, 24 and 25). The nature of the collection as it stands makes analysis of the different patterns and trends in the use of narratorial voice difficult – it was never meant to stand as a poetry book on its own (contrast the *Hymns* of Callimachus), though some critics have thought parts of it originally formed such a group (e.g. the various groupings of more or less 'bucolic' poems, such as *Idylls* 1–7).[2] The earliest, perhaps third-century, collection of Theocritus' poetry may even have advertised its variety and heterogeneity, which may be the force of the term εἰδύλλιον ('idyll'), from εἶδος, 'type' or 'kind').[3]

Accordingly, the poems display a great variety of voices and speakers, from a lovesick goatherd (*Idyll* 3) to a Syracusan poet strongly recalling the historical Theocritus (*Idyll* 28),[4] to an ambiguous figure of uncertain relationship to the author (*Idyll* 7). We might group the poems into a number of different categories which often cut across each other:

1. Narrator is a character clearly not the author (*Idylls* 2, 3, 9, 12, 20).
2. Narrator is vaguely associated with the author (*Idylls* 6, 7, 18, 21, 29, 30).
3. Narrator is closely associated with the author (*Idylls* 11, 13, 16, 17, 28).
4. Narrator resembles an epic or hymnal *aoidos* (*Idylls* 22, 24, 25).

[1] Although *Idyll* 24, of course, seems to have lost some lines at the end, after v. 140. On the fragmentary remains of the final thirty lines see Gow 1952: II.436.

[2] Cf. Lawall 1967. [3] See Gutzwiller 1996: 130.

[4] I assume that Theocritus was so called, was born in Syracuse and worked for a time at Alexandria. Cf. Dover 1971: xix–xxi for a convenient summary of the evidence.

5. Narrator is 'choral' (*Idyll* 26).
6. Narrator is unprominent (*Idylls* 6, 8, 18, 23, 25, 27).
7. Mimes/dialogues without a primary narrator (*Idylls* 1, 4, 5, 10, 14, 15).

These divisions are merely some of the more obvious narratological ones – we could also divide the poems up according to their 'bucolic' or rustic setting or subject matter, the prominence of love as a theme, their similarity to epic, or their metre (the majority are in hexameters, but *Idyll* 8 employs elegiac couplets at vv. 33–80, and *Idylls* 28–30 are in a variety of lyric metres). The degree and manner of the engagement with Archaic poetry, e.g. in the adaptation of some of the features we have seen in Callimachus (moralising persona, relationship of author to narrator, pseudo-intimacy etc.), likewise vary greatly across these different poems. The nature of the collection, clearly not the design of the author, undoubtedly increases the impression of variety, but the polyphony and variety of voices, including Archaic ones, which Theocritus employs are still an integral element in his poetry.

Because of the complicated nature of the collection, and its piecemeal development,[5] I shall treat it thematically, rather than by looking in turn at each individual poem. I study those Theocritean *Idylls* with a primary narrator[6] whose narrative is introduced 'without quotation marks'[7] and who forms the first-level mediator of the story for the audience. This means excluding those dialogue poems or 'mimes' of Theocritus where there is no mediating narrator and a dramatic setting is developed, i.e. *Idylls* 1, 4, 5, 10, 14 and 15 (group 7 above). These dramatic poems form one strategy for avoiding many of the problems of voice and viewpoint which concerned Hellenistic poets,[8] a way of portraying human behaviour and engaging with earlier literary treatments without becoming involved in the difficulties of the authority and status of the poet.[9] But these problems, and Theocritus' approach to them, are in fact particularly clear in those poems where there *is* a primary narrator. It is in these poems that Theocritus' concern with differing points of view and competing voices is at its most apparent – e.g. when frame plays off against inset and the authority of the primary narrator fractures.[10] It is also in these poems, of course, that we can discern and compare patterns in the use of narrative

[5] See Gutzwiller 1996: 123–8 with appendix.
[6] Not all the poems with primary narrators are equally useful in a study such as this – I omit those poems which are too brief (*Idyll* 19, the epigrams) or which use different narrative strategies from control of the primary narrator's voice (e.g. *Idyll* 25, on which see Hunter 1998).
[7] Cf. Hutchinson 2001: x. [8] Cf. Seeck 1975: 203–7, Goldhill 1986: 29–32.
[9] Cf. pp. 15–16 above. [10] Cf. Goldhill 1991a: 254 on *Idyll* 11, and pp. 261–2 below.

voice, and the adaptation of Archaic narrators, which we also observe in Callimachus and Apollonius.

The different types of poem within the Theocritean corpus display different ways of dealing with the poetry of the past and the various means of portraying narrators we find there. In those poems where the narrator resembles an epic *aoidos* (group 4), for example, we find narratorial strategies which recall some of those in Callimachus' *Hymns* and which are different from the much greater use of quasi-biography or a close association of narrator and author in the 'bucolic' poems (which are not uniform in this regard, as the table above shows). The types of narrator we find in those poems, and the ways in which they adapt Archaic models, are different again from the experimentation with choral speakers which we find in *Idylls* 18 and 26.

'TRANSLATING' EPIC AND LYRIC

I discussed in the Introduction the likelihood that one reason for Hellenistic poets' use in their hexameter or elegiac poetry of characteristics, subject matter or techniques from Archaic lyric was a desire to preserve or continue such poetry in a modern form, now that its performance context had disappeared.[11] Theocritus shows a marked preference for hexameters as opposed to elegiacs, and accordingly in Theocritus there are some good examples of 'translations' from lyric into 'epic'.[12] But there are also poems which take an epic narrative or subject and give it a treatment which is at least more lyric in style, even if it remains in hexameters. Theocritus engages directly with particular lyric or epic models in three poems: *Idylls* 13, 22 and 24, two of which (22 and 24) fall into the category of poems with a narrator who resembles an epic *aoidos*. But this characterisation does not do justice to the complexity of the narrative voices of these poems, and the ways in which they engage with earlier poetry.

Idyll 24 has as its principal model Pindar's *Nemean* 1,[13] both poems narrating the strangling of Hera's snakes by the infant Heracles.[14] *Idyll* 24 does, of course, allude to and adapt many more texts and types of poem than simply this one Pindaric ode.[15] For example, Ἡρακλέα ('Heracles') as

[11] See pp. 12–18 above.
[12] See in general on these 'translations' Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 28–32.
[13] See Gow 1952: II.415. The relationship between *Idyll* 24 and *N.* 1 is treated in detail in an important chapter of Foster 2002, the substance of which I hope will soon be published.
[14] Also told by Pindar in *Pae.* 20, which *Idyll* 24 also draws on (cf. Dover 1971: 252, Gutzwiller 1981: 10).
[15] See Hunter 1996: 11–13. On the possible Egyptian models *Idyll* 24 draws on see Stephens 2003: 123–46.

the very first word is a hymnic feature (twenty-one out of thirty-three *Homeric Hymns* begin with the name of the god, *h.Hom.* 15 begins Ἡρακλέα), as is following this with a participial phrase.[16] The image of Alcmena 'filling both [*sc.* Heracles and Iphicles] with milk' (v. 3) alludes to the Heracles as glutton of comedy,[17] while the shield in which the twins are placed in vv. 4–5 has epic affinities, as does the brief mention of Amphitryon having taken it from Pterelaus (cf. *Il.* 15.427–8).[18] Alcmena's lullaby in vv. 7–9, which echoes Danaë's words to the infant Perseus in *PMG* 543.21–2 of Simonides, forms a lyric echo alongside these epic elements.

A more complex relationship with earlier texts is apparent in the use of γαλαθηνόν at *Idyll* 24.30–1, where the narrator tells us that the snakes wound themselves around Heracles:

> περὶ παῖδα
> ὀψίγονον, γαλαθηνὸν ὑπὸ τροφῷ, αἰὲν ἄδακρυν
>
> round the
> late-born child, suckling at the breast, always unweeping.

The word γαλαθηνόν appears with the same meaning, 'suckling', in Simonides *PMG* 553:

> <Εὐρυδίκας>
> ἰοστεφάνου γλυκεῖαν ἐδάκρυσαν
> ψυχὰν ἀποπνέοντα γαλαθηνὸν τέκος.
>
> Violet-garlanded [Eurydice's]
> suckling son they wept for when he
> had breathed out his sweet soul.

This narrates a snake's killing of Archemorus-Opheltes, in whose honour the Nemean Games were founded.[19] It is precisely this Simonidean description which Theocritus' principal model in *Idyll* 24, Pindar's *Nemean* 1, also echoes in precisely the same scene (Heracles' strangling of the snakes):

> ἀγχομένοις δὲ χρόνος
> ψυχὰς ἀπέπνευσεν μελέων ἀφάτων.
>
> As they were strangled time
> breathed out their souls from their unspeakable bodies. (*N.* 1.46–7)

[16] Cf. Gutzwiller 1981: 14. [17] Cf. Hunter 1996: 11.
[18] As Gutzwiller 1981: 11–12 points out. [19] Cf. Apollod. 1.9.14, Paus. 2.15.3.

This emphasises the difference between Opheltes and Heracles, and by reversing the foundation myth of the games replaces 'death with promise and defeat with victory'.[20] Hence the Theocritan allusion to Simonides also alludes to Pindar's own allusion to the same Simonidean passage, thus suggesting that though Theocritus' Heracles may be unweaned, he is no more an Opheltes than Pindar's Heracles.[21]

Even the allusion to Simonides, then, involves *Nemean* 1, and it is the transformations of the Pindaric model which are most important for the appreciation of *Idyll* 24.[22] As Gow observes,[23] the Theocritean version emphasises the domestic rather than the heroic,[24] e.g. in the opening scene, where Alcmena sings her children a lullaby, the conjugal bed scene at vv. 34ff., where Alcmena nags her husband to investigate the noise of the children and the strange light, and the description of the woman by the cornmills waking the servants in the house (vv. 50ff.). But this domestication is itself a development of hints in Theocritus' Pindaric models.[25] In both *N.* 1 and *Pae.* 20 Alcmena leaps ἄπεπλος ('without her robe', *N.* 1.50; *Pae.* 20.14) from her bed, in the former case to fight off the snakes, in the latter out of fear, and the ἀ]μφίπολ[οι ('maidservants') flee in panic in *Pae.* 20.[26]

More striking in terms of variation from Pindar is the 'epicisation' of the Pindaric narrative. Whereas the narrative of *N.* 1 is swift and selective, with extensive play with words for pace and speed,[27] *Idyll* 24 is more even and more leisurely.[28] In *N.* 1 Hera sends the snakes ἐπεὶ . . . αὐτίκα (v. 35), 'as soon as'[29] Heracles is born and ἄφαρ ('at once', v. 40), the snakes intend to wrap their ὠκείας γνάθους ('swift jaws', v. 42) around the children. Then

[20] So Kirkwood 1982: 246 quoting F. L. Williams' 1976 Cornell Ph.D. diss., 'A Critical Edition of Nemean Odes 1–4 of Pindar', which I have not seen.

[21] For γαλαθηνός as alluding to the γαλαθηνῷ |. . . ἤτορι of Perseus in Simonides *PMG* 543.8–9, where the word means 'babyish', see Hunter 1996: 27 n. 104.

[22] This is true, I think, even if Stephens is right to emphasise the Egyptian parallels for some of the material in *Idyll* 24, such as the 'education' of Heracles (vv. 103ff.), and its significance for the praise of a Ptolemaic king. Cf. also Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 210 on the models in Greek art on which *Idyll* 24 may draw.

[23] Gow 1952: II.415.

[24] Cf. also Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 257–61. This domestication may have 'Ptolemaic' overtones, alluding to the strong women of the Ptolemaic court (or its literary incarnation) – see Stephens 2003: 128–9, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 202–3.

[25] Cf. Gutzwiller 1981: 10–11. See, however, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 205.

[26] They do not, as Dover 1971: 252 describes them, 'come running' – they are running away: φύγον (*Pae.* 20.17).

[27] See in general on this narrative pacing Rose 1974: 158–60.

[28] Theocritus' narrative is also fuller – see Dover 1971: 251–2 and Foster 2002: 149 (table 3.2) for what Theocritus adds.

[29] So Braswell 1992: 58, who takes it as equivalent to ἐπεὶ τάχιστα.

there follows the more static, and more extensively described, vignette of Heracles strangling the snakes – he lifts his head, first makes trial of battle, and holds the two snakes in his two inescapable hands, having seized them by their necks. At this point the Pindaric narrator says, strikingly, that 'time breathed out their souls from their unspeakable bodies' (*N.* 1.46–7, quoted above).[30]

The narrative then speeds up again with ταχύ ('quickly') in v. 51, where the Theban princes enter. In Theocritus the pace is much more even. He fills out the simple statement in Pindar that Heracles was laid in his saffron swaddling clothes at *N.* 1.38 into a full-scale ten-line scene of Alcmena putting her children to bed. There follows a very epic-like description of time at vv. 11–12,[31] before Hera sends her snakes. Similarly in *Idyll* 24 there are six lines of description of the snakes (they have rippling dark coils, writhe their blood-greedy bellies along the ground, flash fire from their eyes, spit venom, vv. 14–19). The Pindaric description, on the other hand, is typically very compressed. The narrator focuses on a single prominent feature to stand for the whole, in this case the snakes' 'swift jaws'.[32] *N.* 1's simple ἐκκάλεσεν ('he called', *N.* 1.60) becomes in Theocritus a four-line long address by Alcmena to Teiresias to 'tell her the worst', which is followed by a six-line reassurance by Teiresias of Alcmena and prediction of her own fame.[33]

N. 1 makes this creation of an 'epic' veneer from a selective lyric narrative easier because it is, in Slater's terminology, an 'epic narrative' which proceeds in strict chronological sequence, without narrative ring composition in time.[34] Hence Theocritus can describe the events at fuller length and a more even pace than Pindar does, without having to deal with the awkwardness of a narrative that repeats itself. But the epicisation of the lyric model amounts to more than making the pace more even. Many of

[30] For the importance of time in *N.* 1 see Segal 1974b, and also Gerber 1962 for a defence of the manuscript reading χρόνος.

[31] This recalls *Il.* 18.487–9, *Od.* 5.273, cf. Gow 1952: II.417.

[32] See Braswell 1992: 61.

[33] See also Gutzwiller 1981: 17 and Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 202–3, who suggest Alcmena thinks the narrative will get *too* epic in vv. 35–6, and that her husband will dress in a full-blown arming scene, hence her injunction to him not to put on his shoes.

[34] Cf. Slater 1979, 1983. See, however, Foster 2002: 140–3, who suggests that Pindar reorders the events of the story (in the narratological sense) so as to narrate Heracles' strangling of the snakes before his mother tries to help him (and her female attendants are terrified). He regards the latter as chronologically prior to the strangulation (this would mean Pindar narrates the strangling twice in vv. 46–7 and 55–9, which would be an example of a common summary-then-expansion pattern of narration, on which see Braswell 1988: 35, 294). But it seems to me perfectly plausible to suggest that Alcmena and her maidservants react to Heracles holding the snakes and killing them – the attack is emphasised as being quick, and before they can do anything, Heracles has grasped the snakes.

the changes from *N.* 1 seem designed to minimise the presence of the primary narrator, e.g. the switch from indirect speech (where the mediating role of the narrator is clearer) for the prophecy of Teiresias in *N.* 1.61–72 to direct quotation in *Idyll* 24.73–100.[35] In *N.* 1, before the narrative of Heracles and the snakes begins, there are a great many first persons drawing attention to the primary narrator, e.g. the quasi-biographical statement about visiting the victor:

> ἔσταν δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐλείαις θύραις
> ἀνδρὸς φιλοξείνου καλὰ μελπόμενος,
> ἔνθα μοι ἁρμόδιον
> δεῖπνον κεκόσμηται
>
> I stand, singing fair things, at the courtyard doors
> of a guest-loving man, where for me a fitting
> meal has been laid out. (*N.* 1.19–22)

A first-person statement of the narrator's attachment to his subject, and his reviving of an old tale, introduces the narrative itself:

> ἐγὼ δ᾽ Ἡρακλέος ἀντέχομαι προφρόνως
> ἐν κορυφαῖς ἀρετᾶν μεγάλαις, ἀρχαῖον ὀτρύνων λόγον
>
> I gladly take hold of Heracles
> amid the great heights of successes, stirring up the ancient story.
> (*N.* 1.33–4)

In the fully extant parts of *Idyll* 24, however, there are no first persons by the primary narrator, though the poem may have ended with a hymnal prayer for victory, if the fragmentary lines preserved on the Antinoe papyrus are genuine,[36] while a marginal note to v. 171 suggests the narrator made a first-person request for victory to Heracles.[37] In any case, Theocritus greatly reduces the explicit role of the primary narrator in this poem. In many ways, then, the adaptation of a lyric model in *Idyll* 24 forms the inverse of the treatment of an epic model in *Idyll* 13 (see below). But what Theocritus creates in *Idyll* 24 is not precisely an 'epic' – its length is much less, and, despite its metre and its affinity to a hymn, it also stands as a Hellenistic analogue to such Archaic works as Pindar's *Pythian* 4 and

[35] There is also considerable experimentation in how direct speech is introduced in *Idyll* 24, as Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 208–10 note, citing, e.g., Alcmena's sudden switch into direct speech from indirect speech at vv. 66–9: 'Alcmena then summoned the seer Teiresias who told all truth and told him of the recent events and bid him answer how all was to come, "Don't hide from me if . . ."'.

[36] See, however, Griffiths 1996: 113–17.

[37] See, e.g., Koenen 1977: 79–86, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 201 for the suggestion that *Idyll* 24 may therefore have been performed in competition.

especially Stesichorus' 'lyric epics', works with an epic veneer which are not epics.[38] One such marker of a difference from Homer, at least, is the primary narrator's use of evaluative and emotional language. Descriptions such as αἰνὰ πέλωρα ('dread monsters', v. 13), κακὸν πῦρ ('evil fire', v. 18), κακὰ θηρί' ('evil beasts', v. 23), ἀναιδέας ... ὀδόντας ('shameless ... teeth', v. 24), οὐλομένοις ὀφίεσσι ('baneful snakes', v. 29), δεινὰ πέλωρα ('terrible monsters', v. 59) employ adjectives much more common in the speeches of characters than in the mouth of the primary narrator in Homer.[39]

In part this emotional language in the mouth of the primary narrator is focalised by characters within the narrative (e.g. 'evil beasts' and 'shameless teeth' in vv. 23–4 by the terrified Iphicles), which forms an aspect of Theocritus' changing of the narrow focus of *N.* 1 on Heracles and his heroic action. Andrew Foster argues convincingly that Pindar directs his narrative at emphasising Heracles as a heroic paradigm within his encomiastic poem,[40] partly by excluding problematic aspects of Heracles' mythological history,[41] and partly through certain narratological decisions, such as a careful focusing on Heracles' nursery (we only get a description of Heracles' attackers when they enter the room), careful control of how much we hear of the emotional reactions of other characters to the attack and Heracles' response, and putting Teiresias' prophecy into indirect speech.[42] This reported prophecy, which Foster shows to be strikingly unusual for Pindar,[43] focuses attention on the Pindaric narrator, and his particular deployment of the myth as a paradigm.

But in Theocritus we hear in much more detail the emotions of various characters (even the pain of the snakes held by Heracles, *Idyll* 24.32),[44] as the narrative moves around from palace doors (vv. 15–16) to nursery (vv. 20–33) to parents' bedroom (vv. 33–46) to palace as a whole (vv. 47–53) and back to nursery (vv. 54ff.).[45] In particular, Alcmena's emotions are foregrounded and related in direct speech (vv. 35ff., 68–71), as is Teiresias' prophecy, in a marked shift from the reported version of *N.* 1.[46] As Foster notes, this inverts the primary context for the reception of the prophecy – in Theocritus the direct speech now draws attention to the function of the

[38] One might even include the *Homeric Hymns* in this category of 'para-epic'. They are not 'epyllia', however. Cf. p. 7 n. 25 above.
[39] Cf. Griffin 1986: 39–40, 48. [40] Foster 2002: 138–47.
[41] E.g. his Labours, his acts of *hybris*, details of his death – see Foster 2002: 161–7.
[42] See Foster 2002: 141–7.
[43] Foster 2002: 144–6. All other Pindaric mythological prophecies are related in direct speech.
[44] Foster 2002: 152–4. [45] Cf. Foster 2002: 151–2. [46] Foster 2002: 154.

prophecy within the narrative itself, as a consolation for and reassurance of Alcmena, as opposed to its paradigmatic function in *N.* 1.[47] But this brings with it an awareness for the Hellenistic audience of *Idyll* 24 of the gap between their knowledge of what will happen to Heracles and the impression Alcmena gets of her son's future.[48] This juxtaposition of an internal audience and a learned external one, which react in very different ways to hints or anticipations of unmentioned aspects of Heracles' future,[49] resembles the effect of *Idyll* 18 and the contrast between the Archaic Spartan and very different Hellenistic audiences.[50] The inclusion of more narrative perspectives than the single Pindaric point of view also resembles the effects D'Alessio has seen in some Callimachean poems, such as the *Cydippe* narrative from the *Aetia*.[51]

In contrast to the lyric made epic of *Idyll* 24, in *Idyll* 13 we find the reverse pattern: an epic subject taken up in a short, selective narrative reminiscent of lyric, in a poem with an addressee, further demonstrating its affinities with Archaic lyric and elegy.[52] The story of the Argonauts' visit to Cius, the loss of Hylas and the abandonment of Heracles is 'epic' by virtue of being part of the Argonautic saga, but there may well be an immediate epic model for Theocritus in the form of Apollonius' account at the end of A.R. 1. Whether the account in *Idyll* 13 or that in A.R. 1 came first does not greatly affect the analysis here, as Apollonius will stand as a good example of what an Argonautic version of a Hylas episode would be, even if he in fact wrote second, and his adaptations of *Idyll* 13 (and 22) would then be parallel to Theocritus' handling of *N.* 1 in *Idyll* 24.[53] Knowledge of Apollonius as a model would give *Idyll* 13 and its treatment here some 'edge',[54] but it is not

[47] Foster 2002: 158–9. [48] Foster 2002: 169–72.

[49] E.g. of his self-immolation and its causes at v. 83. Cf. Foster 2002: 165.

[50] See pp. 239–42 below. [51] See D'Alessio 1996: I.5–23. [52] Cf. Hunter 1999: 262.

[53] The issue of priority is an old one. Köhnken 1965 thinks Theocritus wrote first, but argues principally from unreliable external evidence such as the *Lives* of Apollonius (e.g. 1965: 13–17), and the complexity and superiority of Apollonius' version (1965: 17–25), which seems clearly a misunderstanding of two poems of different lengths and genres (cf. Griffin 1966: 301). Others have tried to establish the relative priority of the texts through such means as the analysis of animal similes in the respective poems (Effe 1992), but the most compelling evidence is perhaps the fact that Theocritus also adapts (in *Idyll* 22) the first episode of *Argonautica* 2 in such a way that *Idyll* 22 (set on the Black Sea cost) follows *Idyll* 13 (set in the Propontis) and assumes events from *Idyll* 13 such as the loss of Heracles (cf. Hunter 1996: 59–60). *Idyll* 22 also seems to draw on elements of the Apollonian Hylas episode, but generally to avoid verbal repetition from *Idyll* 13 (Hunter 1996: 60–2). This cross-referential Theocritean treatment of two Argonautic episodes which are adjacent in Apollonius, then, suggests Apollonius wrote first: cf. Hunter 1999: 264–5, though Cameron 1995: 430–1 thinks that the succession of episodes in Apollonius means he is combining two disparate Theocritean narratives.

[54] So Hutchinson 1988: 196.

indispensable. In any case, I shall concentrate on differences of manner, rather than detail or content.

Idylls 24 and 13 stand, then, as two different ways of 'translating' Archaic and Classical song/poem types (often in lyric metres) into hexameters. *Idyll* 24 develops one specific lyric epinician, and puts this into hexameters which display several of the narrative characteristics of epic (though also of hymn).[55] *Idyll* 13, on the other hand, both 'lyricises' an epic narrative and renders what 'might have been' a lyric poem in the Archaic period (e.g. an erotic one – cf. vv. 1–4) into hexameters. The complexities of such 'translations' (and the different strategies which poets could employ in doing such translations), it seems to me, are flattened out if we apply the term 'epyllion' to such hexameter narratives as these.

Apollonius' account has the Argonauts arrive in Cius at 1.1177, the episode ending with the end of the book at 1.1362, when the Argonauts reach Amycus. There are long descriptions, e.g. the search by Heracles for a tree with which to make an oar (1.1187–1206), several speeches (Polyphemus to Heracles, 1.1257–60, Telamon to Jason, 1.1290–5 and 1.1332–5, Glaucus to the Argonauts, 1.1315–25, Jason to Telamon, 1.1337–43), and epic similes, such as that of the enraged Heracles compared to a bull stung by a gadfly (1.1265–72).

Idyll 13, in contrast, is only seventy-six lines long, and though it concentrates on the story of Hylas, it actually narrates in vv. 16–24 the gathering of the Argonauts (οἱ δ' αὐτῷ ἀριστῆες συνέποντο | πασᾶν ἐκ πολίων προλελεγμένοι, 'the leaders went with him, picked from every city', vv. 17–18) and the whole of the Argonautic journey to Colchis, albeit in very compressed form. V. 16 ἀλλ' ὅτε τὸ χρύσειον ἔπλει μετὰ κῶας Ἰάσων ('so when Jason sailed after the Golden Fleece') echoes both the opening of its immediate epic model, χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργῶ ('they launched the well-benched *Argo* after the Golden Fleece', A.R. 1.4),[56] and a non-epic treatment of the Argonautic saga: οὐδέ κοτ' ἂν μέγα κῶας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς Ἰήσων ('Jason would never have brought home the great fleece himself', Mimnermus fr. 11.1 W.), thus advertising its double nature. These lines form, then, an abbreviated version of *Argonautica* books 1–2, and also allude to a non-epic treatment of the return from Colchis. The manner of this abbreviated Argonautic narrative also recalls another brief treatment, again of the events at Colchis and the return thence, at Pindar *P.* 4.249–55:

> κτεῖνε μὲν γλαυκῶπα τέχναις ποικιλόνωτον ὄφιν,
> ὦ Ἀρκεσίλα, κλέψεν τε Μήδειαν σὺν αὐτᾷ, τὰν Πελίαο φονόν·

[55] Cf. Stephens 2003: 124. [56] Cf. Hunter 1999: 271.

> He killed by cunning the grey-eyed snake with the multi-coloured back,
> O Arcesilas, and stole the willing Medea, Pelias' killer. (vv. 249–50)

Hence the brief summary of the first half of the *Argonautica* in *Idyll* 13 also suggests the whole of the epic. *Idyll* 13 also echoes *Pythian* 4 in its description of the Argonauts' passing through the Clashing Rocks and arriving in Colchis:

> ἅτις κυανεᾶν οὐχ ἅψατο συνδρομάδων ναῦς
> ἀλλὰ διεξάιξε βαθὺν δ᾽ εἰσέδραμε Φᾶσιν,
> αἰετὸς ὥς, μέγα λαῖτμα, ἀφ᾽ οὗ τότε χοιράδες ἔσταν
>
> which ship did not graze the dark rocks which run together
> but rushed through and ran into the deep Phasis,
> like an eagle, into the great gulf, from which day the rocks are fixed;
> (*Idyll* 13.22–4)

> δίδυμαι γὰρ ἔσαν ζωαί, κυλινδέσκοντό τε κραιπνότεραι
> ἢ βαρυγδούπων ἀνέμων στίχες· ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη τελευτὰν κεῖνος αὐταῖς
> ἡμιθέων πλόος ἄγαγεν. ἐς Φᾶσιν δ᾽ ἔπειτεν
> ἦλυθον
>
> . . . since living were the two [rocks], and rolled more rapidly
> than the loud-thundering winds' cohorts. But then that
> demigods' journey brought their conclusion. And then to the Phasis
> they came. (*P.* 4.209–12)

But *Idyll* 13 is more compressed yet than Pindar's description – the Clashing Rocks and the arrival in Colchis immediately follow the gathering of the Argonauts. Theocritus does not even mention the need for rowing to move the *Argo* away from Pagasae, in contrast to *P.* 4.200off.[57] Compression and swiftness when compared to Apollonius are also evident. The speed with which Hylas finds a pool in *Idyll* 13 (τάχα δὲ κράναν ἐνόησεν, 'swiftly he spotted a spring', v. 39) contrasts with the separation of his setting out from his arrival in Apollonius by a digression on Thiodamas.[58] It also shows that the evening out of pace in *Idyll* 24 as compared to *N.* 1 is not simply a regular feature of Theocritus' style – quicker, choppier, more 'lyric' narratives are also in his range. *Idyll* 13 begins with an address to Nicias and a *gnome* on love, illustrated by the *exemplum* of Heracles (which recalls the introduction of a Heracles myth as an *exemplum* for no mortal being fortunate in all things in Bacchylides 5), then narrates Heracles' love for and education of Hylas, then juxtaposes (ἀλλ', 'but'/'so', v. 16) the

[57] Cf. Campbell 1990: 118, Hunter 1999: 276. [58] Cf. Hunter 1999: 276.

summary of the expedition in vv. 16–24, returning then to the episode at Cius for the rest of the poem.

The brevity and selectivity of *Idyll* 13, alongside its juxtaposition of episodes, draws attention to its narrator. As we shall examine further below,[59] there is considerable quasi-biography in this poem, notably in the address to Nicias, which foregrounds the narrator, but even though there is no narratorial first person or apostrophe outside the first four lines,[60] the narrator remains prominent. Strikingly, particularly when compared to the epic version of Apollonius, there is no direct speech by any of the main protagonists in the narrative in *Idyll* 13, and the only line of direct speech is v. 52 (κουφότερ', ὦ παῖδες, ποιεῖσθ' ὅπλα· πλευστικὸς οὖρος, 'make the tackle lighter, boys, it's a breeze for sailing'),[61] which quotes what a sailor might say on seeing a shooting star. This comes as part of a simile comparing Hylas' fall to a falling star, but the unusual embedded quotation only points to the distance of the narrative style of *Idyll* 13 from epic, and to the avoidance of long epic speeches. Instead the narrator is before us as a mediating presence, reporting the cries of Heracles and Hylas:

> τρὶς μὲν Ὕλαν ἄυσεν ὅσον βαθὺς ἤρυγε λαιμός,
> τρὶς δ' ἄρ' ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσεν, ἀραιὰ δ' ἴκετο φωνά
>
> Three times he shouted 'Hylas' as loud as his deep throat could roar,
> three times the boy responded, but faint came his voice. (vv. 58–9)

By putting himself firmly between the audience and the words of the characters, the narrator emphasises the faintness and distance of Hylas' cries and the futility of Heracles'. By describing Heracles with a word (ἤρυγε from ἐρεύγεσθαι) which can mean 'bellow' and 'roar',[62] the actions of animals (e.g. bulls, *Il.* 20.403), while also not quoting Heracles' actual words (save the bare Ὕλαν, 'Hylas', v. 58), the narrator makes Heracles appear bestial. He refuses to articulate Heracles' words.

The narrator in *Idyll* 13 is also prepared to pass comment on the narrative itself, as when he declares σχέτλιοι οἱ φιλέοντες ('wretched are lovers', v. 66), motivated by the plight of Heracles (cf. also Heracles μαινόμενος, 'maddened', and the χαλεπὸς . . . θεός, 'harsh god', v. 71). This sort of vocabulary, eschewed by the Homeric narrator, does, however, appear in Apollonius. In his version of the Hylas episode, the primary narrator

[59] See pp. 253–6 below.
[60] Another Theocritean observation of a separation between frame and inset. Cf. Pretagostini 1980 on the general diptych structure of Theocritus' poems.
[61] Cf. Hunter 1999: 280–1. [62] Cf. Hunter 1999: 283.

describes Heracles' killing of Hylas' father with the adverb νηλειῶς ('pitilessly', 1.1214), its cognate νηλής ('pitiless') being exclusively a speech-word in Homer when used of people.[63] More importantly, the Apollonian narrator describes the sons of Boreas, who are to be killed by Heracles, as σχέτλιοι ('wretched', 1.1302). In the *Argonautica* too there is a more intrusive voice than is usual in Homer. But the narrator of *Idyll* 13 is even more prominent.

Idyll 22 in some ways combines the approaches of *Idylls* 13 and 24. Appropriately enough for a poem about twins, it has a double nature and two models, lyric and epic.[64] The poem first celebrates Polydeuces in a narrative about his meeting with Amycus, king of the Bebrycians (vv. 27–134). It appears to engage with Apollonius' telling of the same meeting at the beginning of A.R. 2, and the Hylas episode at the end of A.R. 1.[65] The second part, hymning Castor (vv. 137–211), develops elements of the fight between the Dioscuri and the Apharidae as told in Pindar's *Nemean* 10. At the beginning and end of the poem there are introductory (vv. 1–26) and concluding (vv. 212–23) sections, appropriate to a hymn.[66]

These different sections, and differences between them in terms of style and tone, have led some scholars to consider *Idyll* 22 as a composite of originally separate sections.[67] But we can find more plausible internal reasons for this variation – the opening section, which is a 'Hymn to the Dioscuri', represents an internalisation of the proem-function of a *Homeric Hymn* vis-à-vis a full-blown epic narrative.[68] We can also see the differences between the Polydeuces and Castor sections in terms of the different attitudes to the divine which they embody, and differences in their adaptation of their Archaic and Hellenistic models.[69]

The narrator is particularly prominent in the opening 'hymn' in vv. 1–26. The first word of the poem is a first-person verb, ὑμνέομεν ('we hymn', v. 1), which is repeated at the beginning of v. 4. The Dioscuri are apostrophised in vv. 17–18 in their capacity as savers of ships, and again as ὦ ἄμφω θνητοῖσι βοηθόοι, ὦ φίλοι ἄμφω ('o helpers of mortals both, friends both', v. 23) in vv. 23ff. At this point the narrator asks which of them he should begin with, again employing first-person forms, and decides on

[63] Cf. Griffin 1986: 40. [64] See Sens 1997: 16, 20.
[65] See also Sens 1997: 24–36 on the date of *Idyll* 22 and its possible relationship to other Hellenistic texts.
[66] Cf. Sens 1997: 75 on the hymnic nature of *Idyll* 22.
[67] See, e.g., Gow 1952: II.384–5. [68] Cf. Hunter 1996: 50.
[69] There are also clear verbal (and thematic) parallels between the two sections which show they are 'companion pieces' – see Sens 1997: 14–15.

Polydeuces. This type of explicit narratorial presence does reappear in the rest of the poem, but only at very specific points.

For most of the Polydeuces episode, the narrator is relatively invisible. An exception is the placing of the meeting with Amycus in the context of the wider Argonautic journey at the very beginning:

> ἡ μὲν ἄρα προφυγοῦσα πέτρας εἰς ἓν ξυνιούσας
> Ἀργὼ καὶ νιφόεντας ἀταρτηρὸν στόμα Πόντου
>
> So the *Argo* had escaped the rocks which join as one,
> and the baneful mouth of the snowy Pontos. (vv. 27–8)

The brief summary of the previous events, and the particle ἄρα ('so'), marking the narrative as being a result of the narrator's decision to celebrate Polydeuces first,[70] point us to the narrator. But there then follow some twenty-three lines of description, e.g. of the wanderings of the Dioscuri (vv. 34–43), and the figure of Amycus (vv. 35–52). The conversation that follows, though strikingly novel in its use of stichomythia,[71] means the narrator recedes completely into the background in vv. 54–74. The narrative then speeds up with gathering of the Bebrycians and Argonauts summarised in vv. 75–9, before it concentrates on the fight between Amycus and Polydeuces. This is described in detail in vv. 80–114, with little intrusion from the narrator, until the fight reaches its climax. At this point the narrator intervenes with a question to the Muse:

> πῶς γὰρ δὴ Διὸς υἱὸς ἀδηφάγον ἄνδρα καθεῖλεν;
> εἰπέ, θεά, σὺ γὰρ οἶσθα· ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἑτέρων ὑποφήτης
> φθέγξομαι ὅσσ᾽ ἐθέλεις σὺ καὶ ὅππως τοι φίλον αὐτῇ.
>
> How did Zeus' son bring down that gluttonous man?
> Tell me, goddess, since you know: I, as the interpreter for others,
> shall announce whatever you want and whatever pleases you. (vv. 115–17)

This sort of question to the Muse has epic forebears, such as that at *Il.* 1.8ff.,[72] but coming at a climactic point in the narrative, the closest parallel is perhaps the question to Patroclus at *Il.* 16.692–3 (ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ᾽ ὕστατον ἐξενάριξας, 'then whom first, whom last did you kill?'), shortly before his death.[73] But the narrator of *Idyll* 22 draws even

[70] See Gow 1952: II.387.

[71] It is without parallel in epic narrative (until [Oppian], *Cyn.*1.20–35) – cf. Gow 1952: II.391, Sens 1997: 119.

[72] Cf. Dover 1971: 245.

[73] Sens 1997: 154 thinks the comic description of Amycus as 'gluttonous' undercuts any 'epic solemnity'.

more attention to himself, advertising his role as mediator between the Muse (and therefore the events of the story) and the audience. The narrator then proceeds, at the very end of the Polydeuces narrative, to address Polydeuces himself (ὦ πύκτη Πολύδευκες, 'o Polydeuces the boxer', v. 132), thus informing him that he did not kill Amycus, but secured a promise from Amycus not to molest strangers.

This civilised resolution to the conflict is very different from the end of the fight in Apollonius, where Amycus is killed (τοῦ δ' ἀθρόος ἔκχυτο θυμός, 'his spirit poured out all together', A.R. 2.97), and then the Bebrycians attack the Argonauts (2.98ff.), only to be defeated, and to suffer invasion by Lycus and the Mariandyni (2.139–40). Nor is this the only difference from *Idyll* 22 – there is no narratorial intrusion as explicit as the Muse question, self-characterisation and apostrophe of Polydeuces. The speeches in Apollonius are also handled in much more conventional epic means, in contrast to the stichomythia of *Idyll* 22.54–74. Theocritus seems, however, to draw several elements from the Apollonian account, e.g. the characterisation of Amycus as a sacrilegious Giant (Τιτυῷ ἐναλίγκιος ἀνήρ, 'a man like Tityus', *Idyll* 22.94) fighting against an 'Olympian' (Διὸς υἱός, 'Zeus' son', *Idyll* 22.95):

> ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἢ ὀλοοῖο Τυφωέος, ἠὲ καὶ αὐτῆς
> Γαίης εἶναι ἔικτο πέλωρ τέκος, οἷα πάροιθεν
> χωομένη Διὶ τίκτεν· ὁ δ' οὐρανίῳ ἀτάλαντος
> ἀστέρι Τυνδαρίδης
>
> . . . but one seemed deadly Typhoeus' or Earth herself's
> monstrous offspring, such as she gave birth to in the past,
> when angry with Zeus. The son of Tyndareus, however,
> was like a star of the skies. (A.R. 2.38–41)

The Polydeuces episode, as mentioned above, also appears to draw on the Hylas story as told in the *Argonautica*.[74] The description of Amycus, for example, particularly his wearing of a lion skin (ὑπὲρ νώτοιο καὶ αὐχένος ᾖωρεῖτο | ἄκρων δέρμα λέοντος ἀφημμένον ἐκ ποδεώνων, 'over his back and neck swung the skin of a lion, fixed by its paws', *Idyll* 22.51–2), a typical marker of Heracles, recalls the Heracles of Apollonius. So too does the discovery of a *locus amoenus* while out exploring in wooded countryside when the rest of the Argonauts are engaged on other activities, precisely the situation of Heracles in the Hylas episode in the *Argonautica*. But as Hunter observes,[75] *Idylls* 13 and 22 avoid repeating each other, with different

[74] So Hunter 1996: 61–3. [75] Hunter 1996: 60.

descriptions of passing through the Clashing Rocks, the Argonauts etc.[76] Though the narrator of *Idyll* 22 is prominent, the manner of his visibility, and the overall nature of the narrative (generally even pace, full descriptions), are very different from that of *Idyll* 13.

Where the Polydeuces part of *Idyll* 22 appears to have the *Argonautica* firmly in mind, the Castor section is very different. Once more we begin with narratorial intrusion, in the transitional passage between the Polydeuces and Castor sections:

> καὶ σὺ μὲν ὕμνησαί μοι, ἄναξ· σὲ δέ, Κάστορ, ἀείσω,
> Τυνδαρίδη ταχύπωλε, δορυσσόε, χαλκεοθώρηξ.
>
> And you, lord, have been sung by me, and now, Castor, I shall sing
> of you, son of Tyndareus, who have swift horses, lance-charger, with your
> bronze breastplate. (vv. 135–6)

The verb ὕμνησαι ('you have been sung') picks up the first line of the poem, while the declaration ἀείσω ('I shall sing') points back to the narrator's decision to sing of Polydeuces first (Πολυδεύκεα πρῶτον ἀείσω, 'first I shall sing of Polydeuces', v. 26). Such an intrusion in a transitional passage has clear precedents, e.g. in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (vv. 165ff., 207ff.) or Pindar's epinicians.[77] The narrator continues in this prominent vein with the summary of earlier events in vv. 137–40:

> Τὼ μὲν ἀναρπάξαντε δύω φερέτην Διὸς υἱὼ
> δοιὰς Λευκίπποιο κόρας· δισσὼ δ᾽ ἄρα τώγε
> ἐσσυμένως ἐδίωκον ἀδελφεὼ υἷ᾽ Ἀφαρῆος,
> γαμβρὼ μελλογάμω, Λυγκεὺς καὶ ὁ καρτερὸς Ἴδας.
>
> Zeus' two sons were carrying off the two daughters of Leucippus,
> after seizing them. But the two brothers, the sons of Aphareus,
> furiously chased them, two betrothed grooms, Lynceus and strong Idas.

This reflects the beginning of the Polydeuces episode, of course, which also started with a summary. But this summary points us to the narrator even more, given that it summarises events which are properly part of the episode of the Dioscuri against the Apharidae itself (the imminent marriage of the Apharidae to the daughters of Leucippus, their being seized, the pursuit of the Dioscuri), whereas the earlier summary specified where in the wider Argonautic narrative the episode with Amycus took place. In any

[76] The only exception is ἐκβάντες δ᾽ ἐπὶ θῖνα ('stepping out onto the shore', *Idyll* 13.32, *Idyll* 22.32) – see Hunter 1996: 61.

[77] Cf. pp. 47, 68 above.

case, this pace of narrative is not sustained. When the four heroes leap from their chariots, and the audience expects battle, we receive only words.[78] Lynceus makes a long speech, beginning in v. 145, which only ends at v. 180. I accept, then, the recent critical consensus that we should reject Wilamowitz's suggestion that there is a lacuna after v. 170,[79] and that we should give the speech after that point to Castor rather than Lynceus (the MSS mark no change of speaker).[80] In fact ὅμαιμος (v. 173) can mean 'relative' as well as 'brother', Wilamowitz's chief point against regarding the whole speech as Lynceus'.[81] After the speech, the fight between Lynceus and Castor is described in vv. 181–204, where Castor kills Lynceus, and then Zeus Idas.

The narrative reverses in manner, detail and mood that of Pindar *N.* 10.55–90.[82] Where *Idyll* 22 is explicit that the reason for the fight was the seizing of the daughters of Leucippus by Castor and Polydeuces, *N.* 10 is vague (Ἴδας ἀμφὶ βουσίν πως χολωθείς, 'Idas angry in some way over cows', v. 60). *Idyll* 22 presents us with a Lynceus who argues cogently against fighting (ἡμῖν τοι Λεύκιππος ἐὰς ἔδνωσε θύγατρας | τάσδε πολὺ προτέροις, 'Leucippus betrothed his daughters here to us long ago', vv. 147–8), that it is unseemly of the Dioscuri to have bribed Leucippus (γάμον δ' ἐκλέψατε δώροις, 'you have stolen our weddings with gifts', v. 151), and that if they must fight one death is enough (ἅλις νέκυς ἐξ ἑνὸς οἴκου | εἶς, 'a corpse from one house is enough', vv. 177–8). He is met with silence from Castor, and then death. When his brother Idas takes his father's gravestone to attack Castor to avenge his brother (μέλλε κασιγνήτοιο βαλεῖν σφετέροιο φονῆα, 'he was about to throw it at the killer of his brother', v. 209), he is killed by Zeus. The impression in *Idyll* 22 is of a hero (Lynceus) at odds with his harsh environment[83] and attempting diplomacy in an age of war, and against insurmountable and unintelligible divine power.[84] Lynceus is the object of pity. But in *N.* 10 the emphasis is on the brotherly feeling of *Polydeuces* for Castor (contrasts *Idas*' reaction in *Idyll* 22), with which Pindar's narrative begins and ends, the sacrifice of half of Polydeuces' immortality for his brother (*N.* 10.55–9, 73–90 – Castor is first killed by Idas, *N.* 10.59–60). Pindar's narrative concentrates on the bestowal of this immortality – the speeches in *N.* 10 are those of Polydeuces

[78] As Sens 1996: 188 emphasises. [79] Wilamowitz 1906: 191–2, taken up by Gow 1952: II.402.
[80] See, e.g., Griffiths 1976, Hutchinson 1988: 164 n. 35, Hunter 1996: 70, Sens 1996: 190–1.
[81] Cf. Hunter 1996: 70–1, Sens 1996: 190–1.
[82] It also picks up some details from other versions of the Dioscuri against Lynceus and Idas, such as the *Cypria* – cf. Sens 1997: 168–9.
[83] See Sens 1996: 189, 1997: 18. [84] See Hunter 1996: 69–70.

over his dying brother (vv. 76–9) and the explanation of the possibility of salvation for Castor (vv. 80–8), which produces no doubt in Polydeuces' mind (*N.* 10.89–90). The Pindaric narrative is otherwise swift, e.g. λαιψηροῖς δὲ πόδεσσιν ἄφαρ | ἐξικέσθαν, καὶ μέγα ἔργον ἐμήσαντ' ὠκέως ('on quick feet immediately they arrived, and a great deed they conceived of swiftly', *N.* 10.63–4, cf. *N.* 1 above). The arrival at the tomb of Aphareus to the death of both Apharidae is narrated in seven lines (*N.* 10.66–72).

Idyll 22 transfers the fraternal feeling of Polydeuces for Castor to Idas, and also to Lynceus, concerned to reduce the death toll. But, in the harsh environment of *Idyll* 22, this comes to nothing: οὐ μὰν οὐδὲ τὸν ἄλλον ἐφ' ἑστίῃ εἶδε πατρῴῃ | παίδων Λαοκόωσα φίλον γάμον ἐκτελέσαντα ('Laocoosa did not even see her other son complete his wedding at his father's hearth', *Idyll* 22.205–6). The differences between the Pindaric and Theocritean atmospheres are clear from the similarity of the *gnome* which follows the deaths of the Apharidae in both poems:[85]

> χαλεπὰ δ' ἔρις ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν κρεσσόνων.
>
> It is a hard contest for men to mix with the stronger; (*N.* 10.72)

> οὕτω Τυνδαρίδαις πολεμιζέμεν οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ
>
> So to fight with the sons of Tyndareus is no light thing. (*Idyll* 22.212)

But whereas in Pindar the Apharidae were the aggressors (cf. *N.* 10.63–4, quoted above), in *Idyll* 22 they do not deserve their deaths, and are the wronged party. Hunter is right, however, to emphasise that we should not read this as a condemnation of the Dioscuri, or Castor in particular.[86] *Idyll* 22 presents Polydeuces as a civilising influence against Amycus, and as upholding part of the accepted moral code (the treatment of guests), whereas the Dioscuri together are presented in their capacity as rescuers of ships in the opening 'hymn' in vv. 1–26. The juxtaposition of the actions of a god acting inexplicably, unfairly and ultimately unintelligibly represents another aspect of the divine.[87] Hellenistic poets elsewhere portray the unfortunate fate of the innocent at the hands of the gods (e.g., in Callimachus, Teiresias in *H.* 5, and, in a different sense, Erysichthon in *H.* 6),[88] and we should not use the fact that such poets could depict gods

[85] See Hunter 1996: 66. [86] See Hunter 1996: 69–70.
[87] Cf. Hunter 1996: 70. [88] Cf. pp. 167–9 and 174–7 above.

working outside easily comprehensible modes of behaviour as evidence that their attitude to the gods was not 'serious' (this is again to come up against the inadequacy of the term). A god who acts unfairly is not necessarily a god being satirised or sent up, but merely a god acting as gods sometimes do, mysteriously.[89] The fact that *Idyll* 22 presents the 'civilising' behaviour of Polydeuces alongside the more discomforting killing of the sons of Aphareus shows, as Sens urges, the full range of the divinity of the Dioscuri: 'Merciful savior gods under some conditions, they may also destroy violently and brutally anyone who dares to oppose them.'[90]

CHORAL VOICES

We find in *Idylls* 18 and 26 a different kind of 'translation' into hexameters of features from Archaic poetry from the interplay of lyric and epic in *Idylls* 13, 22 and 24. These two poems form the most explicit examples of Theocritus' use of the Archaic and choral past, though they employ very different strategies to do so. *Idyll* 18 has eight lines of introduction by the primary narrator, with little intrusion, followed by the quotation of the wedding song for Menelaus and Helen, while *Idyll* 26 seems to be a choral hymn purporting to be sung by a boy-chorus.[91]

The quotation of the epithalamium of Helen in *Idyll* 18 marks the distance of the primary narrator from Sparta and the 'original' singing of the song. Though there is some evidence for Archaic epithalamia in dactylic hexapodies,[92] the quotation in hexameters of an Archaic Spartan song sung by women (cf. the lyric *partheneia* of Alcman) also jars and points to the differences between the 'original' performance and the Hellenistic 'reading' of the song.[93] This distance and difference are central to the poem, and to the presence of the narrator's frame.

Though there seems to be a close parallel for the structure of *Idyll* 18 in Bacchylides 20, which also places us in heroic Sparta, at the singing of a wedding song (for Idas and Marpessa), the quotation of τοιόνδε μέλος ('a song such as this', B. 20.3) has not survived, and as such the similarities to *Idyll* 18 must remain uncertain. There is, however, another Archaic Spartan parallel to that of primary narrator and choral speaker, that of Alcman

[89] It is perhaps not so much the 'mysteriousness' of divine action in *H.* 5 and *Idyll* 22 which puzzles modern readers as its ultimate unfairness – but this is more to do with Christian ideas about divine justice than with the Hellenistic hymns, as Hunter 1996: 73 rightly stresses.
[90] Sens 1997: 20. [91] Cf. Cairns 1992: 11–12.
[92] Cf. Sappho frr. 105–6 V., Hunter 1996: 151. [93] Cf. Hunter 1996: 165.

PMGF 3. There the poem begins with the words of what seems like an individual waiting for the song of the chorus:

> Μώσαι Ὀλ]υμπιάδες, περί με φρένας
> ἱμέρωι νέα]ς ἀοιδᾶς
> πίμπλατ'· ἰθύ]ω δ' ἀκούσαι
> παρσενηΐ]ας ὀπός
> πρὸς αἰ]θ̣έρα καλὸν ὑμνιοισᾶν μέλος[94]
>
> [Muses] of Olympia, my mind
> [with desire for new] song
> [fill: I want] to hear
> [maiden] voice
> [to heaven] singing a beautiful song. (fr. 1.1–5)

The first persons in the remainder of the song closely resemble those statements by the chorus in Alcman *PMGF* 1. We also find the situation of an individual waiting for a song to begin in Pindar (*N.* 3.*init.*),[95] but, in view of Alcman's nationality and his female chorus, *PMGF* 3 seems the more important parallel. In both Alcman and Pindar the situation is a fiction – the song has already begun, but the narrator affects that it is still to start. In *Idyll* 18, however, the 'solo' voice at the beginning of the song has become that of a narrator far removed in time and place from the chorus. The frame now points us to the fictionality of the whole song.

It seems that the epithalamium is presented as a fragment, or song, discovered by the primary narrator.[96] *Idyll* 18 begins ἔν ποκ' ἄρα ('so in . . . once', v. 1), which has prompted much scholarly debate.[97] We should perhaps take ἄρα here as genuinely inferential, as 'so' or 'then', and as obliquely constructing the 'setting' for the poem: the 'discovery' of a fragment (or whole) of a Spartan song. The poem portrays the narrator as inferring or remarking that it was 'thus, *then*' that the Spartans girls celebrated the wedding of Helen. The reading ἄρα ('so') of the MSS at v. 7 (Gow prefers ἅμα, 'together', from the Antinoe papyrus) would form another example of this realisation about the distant past.

[94] Suppl. (e.g.) Campbell 1982–93: II.378. [95] Cf. pp. 43–4, 84–5 above.

[96] Cf. Henrichs 1993: 187–9 on the discovery of the *Meropis* by Apollodorus of Athens (*c.* 180–110 BC) in his Περὶ θεῶν (*On the Gods*). The *Meropis* is probably sixth-century rather than third (Henrichs 1993: 189–92, on the basis of its narrative and diction).

[97] Cf., e.g., Gow 1952: II.349, who considers explaining the particle as marking a transition from a lost/unwritten poem, or as a response to some preceding and unknown circumstance, and Hunter 1996: 149, who views it as marking the poet's control over his narrative – indicating the point at which the narrator has chosen to begin his narrative.

This would mean that *Idyll* 18 crystallises a Hellenistic 'reaction' to a lyric text, and would form a poetic counterpart to the cataloguing of and scholarship on Archaic literature being carried out in the Alexandrian Library. Bing has speculated that one of the triggers for the play with ambiguities of voice in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* may have been the encountering of Archaic and Classical poetry as text rather than in performance.[98] In *Idyll* 18 we see portrayed just this sort of encounter with a past 'text', but with very different results. The voices of the two sections, frame and song, are not confused but firmly demarcated.

Whether or not we should read the frame of *Idyll* 18 as a 'scholar's' reaction to a lyric text, the primary narrator's introduction serves to emphasise the difference between the setting of the song, and its 'original' reception, and the present reading. This is also apparent in the use of Stesichorus' *Helen* in the quoted song, pointed out by the scholia (ἐν αὐτῷ τινα εἴληπται ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου Στησιχόρου Ἑλένης, 'there some things are taken from the first Stesichorus' *Helen*').[99] Theocritus seems to draw on the portrayal of the wedding of Helen and Menelaus in the *Helen* (*PMGF* 187).[100] But this again brings home the differences between the Spartan wedding song and *Idyll* 18, and between their audiences: Stesichorus, of course, was famous for his slander of Helen,[101] which allegedly left him blind, and caused him to write his *Palinode* (*PMGF* 192). For *Spartans*, however, Helen was not the faithless betrayer of Menelaus and lover of Paris, but a good and faithful wife.[102] The Archaic Spartan audience of an Archaic choral wedding song for Helen would have had this faithful Helen in mind. But *Idyll* 18, in contrast, adapts a text which depicts the other, 'Homeric', Helen, who abandoned her husband, in the reconstruction of a song celebrating the faithful Spartan Helen. As Haslam has said of Callimachus, here surface meaning runs up against subtextual countercurrents.

The presence of the primary narrator in the frame is vital: he is marked as not belonging to the original audience of the song, and hence his audience is also different. For a Hellenistic audience or reader, as for modern readers, Helen is at least ambiguous, at worst faithless.[103] *We* cannot put aside Homer, unlike the putative Spartan audience. This, of course, makes some of the statements of the song within *Idyll* 18 seem bitterly ironic, e.g. κἠς ἔτος ἐξ ἔτεος, Μενέλαε, τεὰ νυὸς ἅδε ('and year after year, Menelaus, she

[98] See Bing 1993a: 190–4 and pp. 111–15 above. [99] Cf. Argum. *Idyll* 18, p. 331 Wendel.
[100] See Hunter 1996: 150–1. [101] Cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 243a, Isocr. *Hel.* 64.
[102] Cf. Griffiths 1972: 25. [103] See, e.g., Effe 1978: 75–6.

is your bride', v. 15). But they also emphasise the differences between the Archaic past and the Hellenistic present, between a narrator who knows and combines conflicting mythic traditions and a 'naïve' audience that is ignorant of the Helen of the *Iliad*.[104]

In contrast with the sharp separation of voices and emphasis on distance in *Idyll* 18, *Idyll* 26 imitates a choral speaker. It begins by plunging immediately into a narrative about the discovery and death of Pentheus,[105] and ends with a hymnal closing, before which the speaker expresses sentiments which have discomforted several readers:

> οὐκ ἀλέγω· μηδ᾽ ἄλλος ἀπεχθομένω Διονύσῳ
> φροντίζοι, μηδ᾽ εἰ χαλεπώτερα τῶνδε μογήσαι,
> εἴη δ᾽ ἐνναετὴς ἢ καὶ δεκάτω ἐπιβαίνοι·
> αὐτὸς δ᾽ εὐαγέοιμι καὶ εὐαγέεσσιν ἄδοιμι.
> ἐκ Διὸς αἰγιόχω τιμὰν ἔχει αἰετὸς οὕτως.
> εὐσεβέων παίδεσσι τὰ λώια, δυσσεβέων δ᾽ οὔ.
>
> I do not care: let no one think of one hateful to Dionysus,
> not even if he suffer worse things than these,
> and be nine years old or beginning his tenth year.
> May I myself be pure and please the pure.
> In this way the eagle has honour from Zeus who bears the aegis.
> It is to the children of the righteous, not the unrighteous,
> that better things come. (vv. 27–32)

The speaker emphatically announces his unconcern at Pentheus' fate, and that of similar offenders. Gow rightly singles out this passage as the crux for the interpretation of the whole poem.[106] He takes the speaker to be 'the poet', but we can understand these lines much more easily if we think of the narrator not as a projection of the historical author, but as much more closely connected with the Dionysiac context of the poem. One such narrator is the boy-chorus which Cairns suggests.[107]

The problematic vv. 27–32 are textually uncertain, and Cairns plausibly suggests that the reference to age in v. 29 is a pointer to a chorus 'nine years old or beginning [its] tenth year',[108] i.e. a chorus of boys. The Antinoe papyrus has the first-person form ἐπιβαίην ('I enter') in v. 29, and therefore probably read εἴην ('I am') at the beginning of the line,[109] so that the speaker may be talking about himself, though this is hardly certain. The narrator then adds 'it is to the children of the righteous, not the unrighteous,

[104] Cf. Hunter 1996: 165–6. [105] See Dover 1971: 264. [106] Gow 1952: II.475.
[107] See Cairns 1992. [108] Cairns 1992: 12. [109] Cf. Gow 1952: II.482.

that better things come' (v. 32), which has special point if the narrator is a chorus composed of such children.

A boy-chorus would also help to explain the simple worldview expressed arrestingly here – there can be no sympathy with those who transgress against the gods. The narrator is 'without compassion'.[110] This is all the more startling because of the immediately preceding narrative of Pentheus' death, which arouses the sympathy of the audience, as well as being grotesque. Right at the start the emphasis is on the mother–son relationship of Agave and Pentheus (μάτηρ μὲν κεφαλὰν μυκήσατο παιδὸς ἑλοῖσα, 'the mother bellowed as she seized the head of her child', v. 20). Her maternal roar, as she kills her son, is compared to that of a lioness with cubs, i.e. protecting her offspring (v. 21). There then follow lines on his dismemberment (vv. 22–4), and the blood-spattered return to Thebes:

> ἐς Θήβας δ' ἀφίκοντο πεφυρμέναι αἵματι πᾶσαι,
> ἐξ ὄρεος πένθημα καὶ οὐ Πενθῆα φέροισαι.
>
> To Thebes they came all befouled with blood,
> from the mountain carrying pain not Pentheus. (vv. 25–6)

Much in this poem builds on Euripides' *Bacchae*, of course,[111] but the reversals here are particularly important for gauging the narratorial voice in *Idyll* 26. In Euripides the dismemberment of Pentheus (vv. 1114–36), also begun by Agave and again grotesque and unpleasant, precedes Agave's taking of her son's head, again with emphasis on their relationship:

> κρᾶτα δ' ἄθλιον,
> ὅπερ λαβοῦσα τυγχάνει μήτηρ χεροῖν
>
> his poor head,
> which his mother seized with both hands. (E. *Ba.* 1139–40)

This head then becomes the focus of the next scene of Agave's return, where she imagines that Pentheus' head is a lion's (vv. 1168ff.), and of the scene where Agave presents her son's head to her father (vv. 1216ff.), where she finally realises whose head it is (vv. 1280ff.). This sequence of events is obviously full of *pathos*, but in *Idyll* 26 Agave first takes her son's head, and then the full account of the dismemberment follows. After the narrative of Pentheus' death, then, instead of the pathetic scene arousing sympathy of the *Bacchae*, we meet with the bare statement οὐκ ἀλέγω ('I do not care', *Idyll* 26.27).

[110] Cf. Dover 1971: 264. [111] See Dover 1971: 263–4 for a useful comparison.

The simplicity and harshness of this view sits best with a narrator who is not 'Theocritus', but in some manner different. The effect of a pathetic narrative followed by a discomforting moral pronouncement is familiar from Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, where the picture of Erysichthon at the crossroads is followed by a wish not to have such a man as a neighbour. The narrator there is female, hence marked as different, and we should also take the peculiar moralising of *Idyll* 26 as a marker of the 'difference' of the narrator. Here the narrator is a child, hence the simplicity of the moral stance. Cairns points out that young, hence sexually pure, children were pleasing to the gods,[112] but this 'purity' can also express itself as unsympathetic to the actions of those who are not so pure. The effect here is not one of exposing the hypocritical nature of the moralising narrator, as happens in Callimachus' *Iambi*, but of revealing the true nature of the moraliser, and their difference from the audience of the poem, which does feel sympathy as the fate of Pentheus is described.

In form the emphatic first persons in *Idyll* 26, e.g. οὐκ ἀλέγω, placed at the beginning of a line, recall those in Pindar: ἀφίσταμαι ('I stand aside', *O.* 1.52), στάσομαι ('I shall halt', *N.* 5.16).[113] But the situation in Pindar is very different: there the narrator expresses an unwillingness to believe or relate a particular myth, rather than a lack of compassion. Indeed the ostentatious avoidance of a tale (in *N.* 5) which reveals a darker side to some Aeginetan heroes (the killing of Phocus by Peleus and Telamon) points to a more complex conception of morality, wrongdoing and the status of the wrongdoer. The strength of emotion in *Idyll* 26 at the punishment of sacrilege recalls that in Alcaeus fr. 298 V., where the narrator seems to have said certain transgressors should be stoned, as the Greeks should have killed the lesser Ajax:

δρά]σαντας αἰσχύν[νον]τα τὰ μἤνδικα,
]ην δὲ περβάλοντ' [ἀν]άγκα <ι>
]χ̣ενι λαβολίω π. [. .]ᾳν·
] Ἀχαίοισ' ἦς πόλυ βέλτερον
] . . ᾐντ̣α κατέκτανον[114]

disgracing those doing unjust deeds,
. . . putting by necessity . . .

[112] Cairns 1992: 12 with notes.

[113] The lyric and in particular Pindaric connections here are further strengthened if Cairns 1992: 22–3 is right to suggest that *Idyll* 26 may be based on a lost dithyramb by Pindar, and that the scholia's (to *O.* 2.86–8, *N.* 5.20f.) identification of Pindar and an eagle stands behind the sudden reference to an eagle in v. 31.

[114] Suppl. (v.1) Merkelbach, Lobel.

stoning . . .
. . . much better for the Achaeans
. . . they killed. (vv. 1–5)

But Alcaeus uses myth as an *exemplum* for what political action should be taken on Lesbos. *Idyll* 26 transfers the voice of the engagé citizen into the mouths of 'pure', but compassionless, boys.

MIMESIS AND THE DRAMATIC MONOLOGUES

Theocritus' dramatic monologues (*Idylls* 2, 3, 12, 20, 29) stand in a different relationship again to their Archaic poetic models from the poems we have looked at so far. They also show marked similarities to the mimetic hymns of Callimachus. Though the situation is in one sense 'dramatic',[115] the audience only has access to the events of the story through the sole speaker, whom I therefore designate the primary narrator.[116] In all five of the monologues the situation is 'mimetic' in the sense that the audience has to deduce the setting from the narrator's words.[117] *Idyll* 2 is set at the casting of a spell against the narrator's lover (φίλον καταδήσομαι ἄνδρα, 'so I may bind my man', v. 3), *Idyll* 3 for the most part outside Amaryllis' cave (τί μ' οὐκέτι τοῦτο κατ' ἄντρον | παρκύπτοισα καλεῖς, 'why do you no longer call me in, peeping out of this cave?', vv. 6–7), *Idyll* 12 at the return of the narrator's *eromenos* (Ἦλυθες, ὦ φίλε κοῦρε, 'you have come, my dear boy', v. 1), *Idyll* 20 before an audience of shepherds (ποιμένες, εἴπατέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον, 'shepherds, tell me the truth', v. 19), and *Idyll* 29 at a symposium (μεθύοντας, 'drunk', v. 2).[118] The situation in *Idylls* 20 and 29 is static, while that in *Idylls* 2 and 3 clearly develops as the narrators react to 'present events'. Simaetha in *Idyll* 2 first instructs her slave and then

[115] These poems also resemble, of course, those of Theocritus' 'mimes' which have no narrator but simply contain the speeches of the characters in a particular scene, as if in a play (e.g. *Idyll* 15). But in terms of the deployment of voice it is important to compare the dramatic monologues, where there is no responding character, and the audience/reader has access to the story through this one speaker alone, with poems of Callimachus and Theocritus (and their Archaic models) where we have more conventional primary narrators. Cf. Andrews 1996, who treats Simaetha in *Idyll* 2 as an 'internal secondary narrator-focalizer' and draws attention to the similarities of Simaetha's narration to the primary narrator-text of the *Il.* (e.g. in her embedding of direct speeches more often than indirect ones, Andrews 1996: 22–3).

[116] See Andrews 1996 in general on the similarity of Simaetha's narration in *Idyll* 2 to that of epic primary narrators.

[117] Cf. Hopkinson 1988: 154 on *Idyll* 2.

[118] Cf. Gow 1952: II.505, Hunter 1996: 176. As Hunter notes, the symposium is the setting for most Theognidean paederastic verse, as probably also for Alcaeus, who is quoted at the beginning of the poem (fr. 366 V.). Cf. also Call. *H.* 1.1.

upbraids her for her carelessness in carrying these instructions out: ἀλλ᾽ ἐπίπασσε, | Θεστυλί. δειλαία, πᾷ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπότασαι; ('sprinkle, Thestylis – fool, where have your wits flown off to?', vv. 18–19), while the goatherd in *Idyll* 3 wishes to be the bee which flies past him (αἴθε γενοίμαν | ἃ βομβεῦσα μέλισσα, 'would that I could be that buzzing bee', vv. 12–13),[119] and feels his eye twitch (ἄλλεται ὀφθαλμός μευ ὁ δεξιός, 'my right eye is quivering', v. 37). In *Idyll* 12, however, in contrast both to the developing action of *Idylls* 2 and 3, and the static *Idylls* 20 and 29, it is not so much the situation that changes as the thought of the narrator. In the movement from delight in the opening lines, to the wish for immortality in vv. 10–21, to the comments about Diocles and the Megarians (vv. 27–37), the poem seems to depict the speaker's state of mind and the changes in it.[120]

The oblique indication of the setting, the development of the scene, and the depiction of a ritual in *Idyll* 2 all parallel Callimachus' mimetic hymns.[121] But one major difference lies in the treatment of the audience. *Idyll* 2, for example, depicts a private rite, a spell against a lover. This contrasts with the public festivals Callimachus portrays (e.g. the Cyrenean Carneia in *H.* 2). Furthermore, Callimachus treats the audience as if it is present at the rite itself (οὐχ ὁράᾳς; 'don't you see?', *H.* 2.4), and plural imperatives such as εὐφημεῖτ᾽ ('be silent', *H.* 2.17) 'include' the audience of the hymn (even where the ritual audience is female, as in *H.* 6). In Theocritus, however, the audience is *eavesdropping* – the primary narrator is 'unaware' of their presence, and confines his/her speech to very restricted silent 'interlocutors' – Thestylis in *Idyll* 2, Tityrus and Amaryllis in *Idyll* 3, the *eromenos* in *Idylls* 12 and 29, and the shepherds in *Idyll* 20. The private setting for these Theocritean monologues resembles that of Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*, set at a (private) symposium (παρὰ σπονδῇσιν, 'when offering drinks', *H.* 1.1). But there the setting is not much developed, nor is there a strongly felt private addressee.

The closest parallel is the pseudo-intimacy we find in Archaic poetry such as Sappho's, where the (secondary) audience feels transported to a private setting or group of friends, without being explicitly included in that circle (again, eavesdropping without the knowledge of the narrator). When Sappho bids Abanthis sing, evoking a private gathering of women (κ]έλομαι σ᾽ ᾰ̣[είδην| Γο]γγύλαν [Ἄβ]ᾰ̣νθι,[122] 'I bid you [to sing] of Gongyla, Abanthis', fr. 22.9–10 V.), it is not only the names but also the

[119] Cf. Dover 1971: 113. [120] Cf. Cairns 1972: 30, Walsh 1990: 18–20.
[121] Note also the female narrator of *Idyll* 2 next to that of *H.* 6.
[122] Suppl. Hunt (v. 9), Wilamowitz, Lobel–Page (v. 10). Voigt prints κ]έλομαι σ .[| . .].γύλα .[. . .]ᾰνθι.

setting of the poem which make the audience feel it has access to a normally closed world. The specific addressees in sympotic poetry (e.g. πῶνε [καὶ μέθυ᾽ ὦ] Μελάνιππ᾽ ἄμ᾽ ἔμοι, 'drink [and get drunk] with me, Melanippus', Alcaeus fr. 38 (a).1 V.) play a similar role: the audience feels admitted to a private situation, but one in which its presence is not acknowledged. As if to mark its connection with this type of sympotic poem, *Idyll* 29 begins with a quotation from such a poem of Alcaeus ('Οἶνος, ὦ φίλε παῖ,' λέγεται, 'καὶ ἀλάθεα', ' "Wine, dear boy, and truth", as the saying goes', v. 1 – cf. Alcaeus fr. 366 V.).

QUASI-BIOGRAPHY AND IRONISING THE NARRATOR

We find the most explicit quasi-biographical material in Theocritus in the dramatic monologues, where the narrator is not a projection of the author,[123] though only in one (*Idyll* 2) do we hear the name of the narrator (Simaetha, *Idyll* 2.101). In *Idylls* 2, 3 and 20 there is extensive self-description of the physical appearance of the narrator, e.g.:

> ἦ ῥά γέ τοι σιμὸς καταφαίνομαι ἐγγύθεν ἦμεν,
> νύμφα, καὶ προγένειος;
>
> Do I seem snub-nosed up close, bride, with too much chin?
> (*Idyll* 3.8–9 – a goatherd)

> ὄμματά μοι γλαυκᾶς χαροπώτερα πολλὸν Ἀθάνας
>
> My eyes much brighter than grey-eyed Athena's.
> (*Idyll* 20.25 – an oxherd)

In *Idyll* 2, the sorceress Simaetha describes rather the effect of her love on her appearance (τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἐτάκετο, 'my beauty melted', v. 83, cf. also vv. 88ff.). *Idyll* 12, however, despite its extensive first-person narration, reveals little in this vein to the audience, concentrating rather on the wishes of the narrator for his future love. In fact, of all of the monologues *Idyll* 12 has the most subtly characterised narrator. *Idylls* 2, 3 and 20 clearly and quickly identify the nature of their speakers: Simaetha proclaims that she will bind her faithless lover with fire spells at *Idyll* 2.10, then addresses the Moon, while the goatherd of *Idyll* 3 announces his intention to serenade Amaryllis and asks Tityrus to mind his goats (vv. 1–3). The narrator of *Idyll* 20 quotes Eunica's dismissive reproach that he, an oxherd, would want to

[123] Except in the case of *Idyll* 29, on which see pp. 259–60 below.

kiss her (vv. 2–10). But the rusticity of the narrator of *Idyll* 12 is less obvious – it is apparent from the nature of the similes in vv. 3–9 ('as spring is sweeter than winter, as apple than sloe, as the ewe shaggier than the lamb . . .') and his manner of expression in vv. 23–4.[124]

In all of the monologues, alongside narration of the 'present' feelings and actions of the narrator, there is much on the background to the current situation – Simaetha tells us of her recent abandonment (vv. 4ff.), her original infatuation (vv. 76ff.), her seduction (vv. 40–1, 100ff.), the discovery of her betrayal (vv. 145ff.) etc. Similarly in *Idyll* 3.28–34 we hear of the signs of a lack of love from Amaryllis, in *Idyll* 12.1–2 that the absence of the lover is at an end, and in *Idyll* 20.1–18 of Eunica's disdain and the oxherd's anger. But in contrast to these latter three monologues, this background information does not seem to be used in *Idyll* 2 to satirise Simaetha.[125] Her sentence structure is simple, as is her vocabulary, and the emotional language she employs (τάλας, 'wretch', v. 4, τάλαιναν, 'wretched', v. 40, δειλαίας, 'sorry', v. 83) is appropriate for one betrayed in love and executing her revenge. The magical, ritual setting of the poem accounts for such elements as the hymn-like farewell to the Moon (vv. 165–6). When she mentions a mythic parallel (Theseus and Ariadne) at vv. 45–6 by using a 'they say' statement (φαντί, 'they say', v. 45), this does not give the impression that she is a scholar, rather that she cites a common story – her statement suggests only a vague familiarity with the legend (contrast the use of 'they say' statements in the *Argonautica*).[126] The wider world of Simaetha, and therefore a certain pseudo-intimacy, are effectively rendered by the mention of the names of various other characters: not only Thestylis (v. 1), who appears to be her slave, but also ἁ τωὐβούλοιο καναφόρος ἄμμιν Ἀναξώ ('my Anaxo, the daughter of Eubulus, a basket-bearer', v. 66), and ἁ τε Φιλίστας | μάτηρ τᾶς ἁμᾶς αὐλητρίδος ('the mother of Philista, my *aulos*-player', vv. 145–6) etc. We should place this alongside the pseudo-intimate nature of the monologue setting itself.

In the other monologues, too, the narrators speak as befits their characters, e.g. in the rustic similes of *Idyll* 12.3–9, or the goatherd's love-gift of apples at *Idyll* 3.10–11. But in these poems the narrators' words and situation do ironise them. The goatherd of *Idyll* 3 is engaged in a rustic version of an urban *paraklausithyron* (κωμάσδω, 'I serenade', v. 1),[127] the

[124] Cf. Giangrande 1986: 42.
[125] Cf. Dover 1971: 95. Andrews 1996 argues for Simaetha as a sophisticated narrator in *Idyll* 2, who is not the ironised victim of author and audience.
[126] Cf. pp. 274–5 below. [127] See Gow 1952: II.64, Dover 1971: 112.

cave of Amaryllis replacing the city house, the collapse outside the cave (and predicted death by wolves) replacing the lover's sleep on the doorstep.[128] Not only is the goatherd out of place in such a situation, there is also further irony, for example, in his attempts at a heightened tone in his song (vv. 40–51). Here he cites various mythological *exempla*, which he naïvely takes to parallel his situation. He thinks of Hippomenes, for example, as having offered apples as love-tokens for Atalanta (vv. 40–2), as he himself has done, rather than as instruments for distracting her in a race.[129] This naïve 'rewriting' of myth, alongside the less-than-happy ending of all five of the myths he cites,[130] marks the goatherd's words as ironising him.[131] This is further heightened by his presentation as an initiate into the mysteries Iasion knew in a mock ritual address (ὅσ' οὐ πευσεῖσθε, βέβαλοι, 'which you will not know, ye uninitiated', v. 51, thus including Amaryllis), which playfully refers to Amaryllis' ignorance of love with the goatherd (a doubtful privilege).[132]

We find a similar ironising of the speaker in *Idyll* 20, which as a whole is strongly imitative of *Idyll* 3.[133] He too ends his speech with the citation of mythic *exempla* of love for oxherds (vv. 34ff.): Adonis, Endymion, Attis and Ganymede. The first two he shares with the goatherd of *Idyll* 3. Again, the unhappy endings of three, at least, of *Idyll* 20's myths are unfortunate, but still more ironic is the claim that Eunica, for rejecting him, is ἁ Κυβέλας κρέσσων καὶ Κύπριδος ἠδὲ Σελάνας ('better than Cybele and Cypris and Selene', v. 43), which suggests the oxherd thinks of himself as a worthy consort of goddesses. He has already claimed to have brighter eyes than Athena (v. 25, quoted above), and to explain Eunica's unwillingness he asks whether the gods have taken away his beauty:

> ἆρά τις ἐξαπίνας με θεὸς βροτὸν ἄλλον ἔτευξε;
> καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τὸ πάροιθεν ἐπάνθεεν ἁδύ τι κάλλος
>
> Has some god suddenly made me a different man?
> Because certainly a sweet beauty bloomed on me before. (vv. 20–1)

But the truth is perhaps somewhat different, as Eunica's reproach suggests: χείλεά τοι νοσέοντι, χέρες δέ τοι ἐντὶ μέλαιναι, | καὶ κακὸν ἐξόσδεις ('your lips are diseased, your hands are black and you smell bad', vv. 9–10).

[128] Cf. Hunter 1999: 107, 128–9. [129] See Gow 1952: II.73.
[130] At least in some versions, cf. Hunter 1999: 123, Fantuzzi 1995: 23–6.
[131] See Fantuzzi 1995 for the suggestion that we should connect the widespread problematising of *exempla* in Theocritus' bucolics (through, e.g., the unhappy fate which follows the fulfilment of the desire of the lovers the goatherd cites in *Idyll* 3) with the polyphony of Theocritean bucolic.
[132] Cf. Hunter 1999: 128. [133] Cf. Gow 1952: II.364.

This oxherd has a much inflated opinion of himself and his beauty, but the poems which his rustic boasts echo undercut him. He claims about himself that τὸ στόμα δ᾽ αὖ πακτᾶς ἁπαλώτερον ('my mouth is softer than cream cheese', v. 26),[134] a comically rustic comparison which recalls the Cyclops' description of Galatea as λευκότερα πακτᾶς ('whiter than cream cheese', *Idyll* 11.20), but also Sappho's phrase πάκτιδος ἁδυμελεστέρα ('sweeter-singing than the lyre', fr. 156 V.). The oxherd's language resembles that of another rustic lover with no hope of satisfaction, and also bathetically transforms Sappho's harp into a vat of cream cheese.

We also find this ironic attitude to rusticity to a degree in *Idyll* 12,[135] though the most important element there is the lover's self-delusion.[136] There is some humour, for example, at the expense of a rustic who begins by echoing Sappho (Ἦλυθες, ὦ φίλε κοῦρε· τρίτῃ σὺν νυκτὶ καὶ ἠοῖ | ἦλυθες· οἱ δὲ ποθεῦντες ἐν ἤματι γηράσκουσιν, 'you have come, my dear boy, on the third day you have come – lovers grow old in a day', *Idyll* 12.1–2 from ἦλθες, †καὶ† ἐπόησας, ἔγω δέ σ᾽ ἐμαιόμαν | ὃν δ᾽ ἔψυξας ἔμαν φρένα καιομέναν πόθωι, 'you have come . . . you made, and I desired you, and you have cooled my heart burning with longing', Sappho fr. 48 V.), but also declares ἐγὼ δέ σε τὸν καλὸν αἰνέων | ψεύδεα ῥινὸς ὕπερθεν ἀραιῆς οὐκ ἀναφύσω ('but I, celebrating that you are fair, shall sprout no pimples on my slender nose', vv. 23–4). The chief focus of the poem's irony, however, is the emptiness of the narrator's wishes. He hopes that when he is dead someone will tell him: 'ἡ σὴ νῦν φιλότης καὶ τοῦ χαρίεντος ἀίτεω | πᾶσι διὰ στόματος, μετὰ δ᾽ ἠιθέοισι μάλιστα' ('"now your love, and your lover's, is on the lips of all, especially the young men"', vv. 20–1). His Archaic model here, Theognis 237–54, where Theognis promises Cyrnus immortality (θοίνῃς δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσσῃ | ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν, 'you will be at all the feasts and banquets, lying on the lips of many', 239–40), but also accuses Cyrnus of deceit (λόγοις μ᾽ ἀπατᾷς, 'you deceive me with words', v. 254), undercuts his hopes for fame for undying mutual love.[137] The very anonymity of the narrator and his *eromenos* in *Idyll* 12, in marked contrast to that of Cyrnus,[138] also ironises his wish for their fame.

In *Idyll* 29 we meet another lover, but this time the irony (rather as in Callimachus' *Iambi*) is at the expense of his moralising. This poem again adapts Archaic moralising, whether sympotic, as in the opening quote from

[134] Though the adjective is uncertain, Gow 1952: II.367. [135] See Giangrande 1986: 42–4.
[136] See Hunter 1996: 186–95.
[137] Cf. Hunter 1996: 190. [138] So Hunter 1996: 192.

Alcaeus (fr. 366 V.),[139] or paederastic, e.g. from Theognis. In addition to the opening Alcaic proverb, the narrator offers his *eromenos* several *gnomai*: 'Love lightly tames men's hearts', vv. 23–4; 'we grow old before we can spit', vv. 27–8; 'one cannot regain youth once it is gone', vv. 28–9; 'youth wears wings, and we are slow to catch the winged', vv. 29–30. The main thrust of these comments, that youth is fleeting, takes up several elegies in Theognis,[140] e.g. 1299–1304, 1305–10, where the brief youth of the *eromenos* is the principal reason why he should yield to his lover. In these Theognidean verses, however, there is no ironising of the speaker – the speaker desires his *eromenos* and pleads with him to yield. In *Idyll* 29, in contrast, the narrator affects to give his advice from higher motives (vv. 10–11), and claims that he wants to remain (non-sexual) friends with his *eromenos* when he is older (vv. 33–4).

But the advice the narrator gives, which he also characterises as for the benefit of his *eromenos* (ἄγαθος μὲν ἀκούσεαι | ἐξ ἄστων, 'you'll be called good by the people of the town', vv. 21–2), is to abandon his flitting from tree to tree (vv. 14–15) and be faithful: πόησαι καλίαν μίαν ἐνν ἕνι δενδρίῳ ('make one nest in one tree', v. 12), and to 'return his love' (v. 32). The narrator's motivations are baser than he claims, as the opening of the poem reveals:

> κὤταν μὲν σὺ θέλῃς, μακάρεσσιν ἴσαν ἄγω
> ἀμέραν·
>
> And when you are willing, I spend a day like the gods. (vv. 7–8)

As Hunter notes, this willingness on the part of the *eromenos* is sexual compliance, and the hyperbole of the narrator's delight when he is allowed sexual access implies that it is this which motivates his advice.[141] In fact, however, it is not only the lecherous moralising which ironises the speaker here, but also the futility of his advice, given the emphasis on the present promiscuity of the *eromenos*.[142] The comparison with Achilles (vv. 33–4), the self-characterisation of the narrator as Heracles (vv. 37–8) and the threat not to come when the *eromenos* calls (vv. 39–40)[143] are all in vain: ἐξ ἀτέρω

[139] The Alcaic poem may also have been paederastic, as *Idyll* 29, but this cannot be confirmed – see Hunter 1996: 172.
[140] Cf. Hunter 1996: 176 with n. 46.
[141] See Hunter 1996: 180. Cf. the prayer to Dionysus in Anacreon *PMG* 357 to give Cleobulus good 'advice' to accept the narrator's love, more self-interested advice.
[142] Cf. Hunter 1996: 178.
[143] Which must refer, as Hunter 1996: 176–7 argues, to a time when the *eromenos* has grown up, as in the Achilles comparison.

δ᾽ ἄτερον μάτης ('from one you seek another', v. 15). The narrator is in no position to advise the *eromenos*, being in the grip of sexual desire, and with nothing to distinguish him from the mass of lovers.

Idyll 30 also depicts a narrator afflicted with a passion for a boy, but the poem takes the striking form of the narrator's conversation with his own θυμός ('heart'). Much of the humour in the poem derives from the reasoned defence of its passion by the θυμός, which points out that trying to defeat Eros is like trying to count the stars (i.e. impossible, vv. 25–7), and that Eros conquered Zeus and Aphrodite, let alone the narrator's heart (vv. 28–32). As a whole, of course, the heart's defiant reply to its 'owner' embodies the narrator's point, that he cannot control it, but the narrator's strong separation of himself from his heart, and the latter's superior reasoning, ironise the narrator. The earliest address to a heart or similar organ in an erotic context may be in Simonides fr.eleg.21 W.,[144] and this parallel seems particularly important.[145] In this fragment, the narrator is telling his ψυχή ('soul') that he can no longer be its guardian:[146]

> ο]ὐ δύναμαι, ψυχ[ή,] πεφυλαγμένος ε[ἶ]ναι ὀπηδός·
> χρυσῶπιν δὲ Δίκ[ην ἄζ]ομαι ἀχνύμενος,
> ἐ]ξ οὗ τὰ πρώτιστα νεο[τρεφέ]ων ἀπὸ μηρῶ[ν
> ἡ]μετέρης εἶδον τέρμ[ατα πα]ιδείης
>
> My soul, I cannot be your watchful guardian.
> I've ruefully respected pure-faced Right
> ever since I first saw on my young growing thighs
> the signs that my boy's life was at an end. (fr.eleg. 21.3–6 W.)[147]

West comments that this is clearly a love poem – despite feeling that the love is 'somehow discreditable', the narrator cannot help himself.[148] This is close to the situation developed in *Idyll* 30. The narrator is addressing his externalised self, not someone else (e.g. a friend whom the passionate narrator can no longer protect, or an *eromenos*). He confesses that he can no longer guard his soul, even though he has 'respected Right' ever since the end of his boyhood. We should probably explain the end of this period of righteousness and self-protection by sexual attraction for an *eromenos* (note the sensuous description of adulthood in vv. 5–6).[149] The narrator can no longer be the guardian of his own soul because he is in love, and has surrendered control of his soul. But the very fact of this loss of control,

[144] See Hunter 1996: 183. [145] Cf. also Pindar fr. 123 S.–M. with Hunter 1996: 183–4.
[146] Although West 1993a: 11 n. 23 is hesitant about his substitution of a vocative in v. 1 and wonders if a dative would not be better.
[147] Translation from West 1993b: 171. [148] See West 1993a: 11. [149] Cf. West 1993a: 11.

which the poem implies is the narrator's very first, suggests that his 'guardianship' may always have been bogus. If the narrator was never affected by a passion, then his 'self-control' is no self-control at all (cf. Angelo in *Measure for Measure*).

This would also be close to the ironising of the speaker in *Idyll* 30. It may be that the soul replied in Simonides (παρθενία, 'virginity', replies to a bride in Sappho fr. 114.2 V.). In any case, the response in Theocritus, while striking, is the kind of adaptation from an Archaic model which we might expect from Theocritus. Furthermore, if Simonides fr.eleg.21 was a model for *Idyll* 30, it suggests that the narrator of *Idyll* 30 has never had control of himself or his θυμός, which further ironises the speaker. The narrator who externalises his desire as a disease (τῶδε νοσήματος, 'this sickness', v. 1), and as the cause of the latest outburst (παρίων ἔδρακε λέπτ' ἄμμε δι' ὀφρύων, 'passing by he looked at me quickly from beneath his brows', v. 7) and his lack of self-control, is himself revealed as at fault.

NARRATOR AND AUTHOR

Quasi-biography is often more oblique in those poems where we associate the narrator to some degree with the author than in the monologues, though even within this class of poem there is variety. In *Idylls* 11, 13 and 28 we hear oblique indications of the narrator's nationality, and more importantly his friends. The Cyclops, long associated with Sicily,[150] is ὁ παρ' ἁμῖν, 'my countryman' (*Idyll* 11.7), while the distaff which the narrator addresses in *Idyll* 28 is similarly ἀμμετέρας . . . ἀπὺ χθόνος ('from my land', v. 16), its city the νάσω Τρινακρίας μύελον ('marrow of the Trinacrian isle', v. 18). But we hear nothing about the appearance or the name of the narrator.

The narrator's relationship to his friend Nicias, addressee of *Idylls* 11 and 13, fills out our picture of the narrator. Nicias is described as a doctor (*Idylls* 11.5, 28.19–20) whom the Muses and Graces love (*Idylls* 11.6, 28.7). His wife, Theugenis, is named twice in *Idyll* 28 (vv. 13, 22), and the narrator predicts her future fame as εὐαλάκατος ('famous for her distaff', v. 22) when she has received her distaff. This is to be a token of their friendship, reminding her of τὼ φιλαοίδω . . . ξένω ('her song-loving friend', v. 23), explicitly marking the narrator as a poet. Furthermore, he describes himself as about to engage on a journey (v. 5) to Miletus (πόλιν ἐς Νείλεος ἀγλάαν, 'to the shining city of Neleus', v. 3) to place this distaff in Theugenis' hands (v. 9).

[150] Cf. Th. 6.2.1, Hunter 1999: 226.

It seems preferable not to take this piece of quasi-biography literally, but in the same manner as Pindaric statements of his song travelling (e.g. 'on every merchant ship and on every boat, sweet song, travel from Aegina', *N.* 5.3–4).[151] The narrator of *Idyll* 28 complicates the image by portraying *himself* as also travelling, which appears also to develop Pindaric passages where the narrator speaks of himself as having travelled to the victor's house, e.g. ἔσταν δ' ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις | ἀνδρὸς φιλοξείνου καλὰ μελπόμενος | ἔνθα μοι ἁρμόδιον | δεῖπνον κεκόσμηται ('I stand, singing fair things, at the courtyard doors of a guest-loving man, where for me a fitting meal has been laid out', *N.* 1.19–22).

Idyll 28 also reflects such images of welcome at the house of a friend where the narrator imagines being favourably received: ὄππως ξέννον ἔμον τέρψομ' ἴδων κἀντιφιληθέω ('so I may delight myself in looking on my friend, and be welcomed in return', v. 6). But the title of the poem itself is Ἀλακάτα (*Distaff*), and though certainty is impossible as to the title's antiquity, it is very apt. Hence it is not the distaff but the *Distaff* which the narrator is sending, and it is this which will win Theugenis fame and attest to her friendship with a poet.[152] The address to ὦ φιλέριθ' ἀλακάτα ('o distaff, fond of wool-spinning', v. 1) then also becomes an address to the poem itself, which further recalls Pindaric addresses such as that in *N.* 5 (quoted above).[153] The narrator can be said to be travelling with his poem as he is inscribed within it.

The narrator of *Idyll* 13 begins by correcting an earlier misapprehension he shared with Nicias, that love was created only for them (vv. 1–4). This, and the announcement in *Idyll* 11 that the only cure for love is poetry (vv. 1–4), have led to speculation about the poems being different forms of consolation for a lovesick Nicias,[154] but in the absence of external evidence it seems best to regard both such situations as quasi-biographical settings which the poems themselves construct. In any case, *Idyll* 11 begins by pointing out Nicias' dual status as doctor and poet (vv. 5–6), argues that poetry is the only drug for love, and ends by claiming that Polyphemus did himself more good by singing than by spending gold (vv. 80–1), another reference to the medical profession. We need not assume, then, that Nicias, as opposed to a hypothetical patient of his, is in love.

[151] See, however, Gow 1952: II.495. Cairns 1976: 301–2, who gives several examples of song/poet travelling in Pindar and Bacchylides, takes *Idyll* 28 to be imitating literal, rather than metaphorical, journeys which he surmises would have appeared in the poems of Sappho and Alcaeus on which *Idyll* 28 is based.

[152] For *Idyll* 28 as an *anathematikon* or 'dedication poem' see Cairns 1976.

[153] Cf. Hopkinson 1988: 172 for later parallels.

[154] See, e.g., Gow 1952: II.209.

Nicias' role as addressee in *Idylls* 11 and 13, alongside his presence in *Idyll* 28, itself develops Archaic models. Though *Idylls* 11 and 13 are often referred to as 'poetic epistles',[155] the best parallel for Nicias' role is the role of the addressee in Archaic lyric and elegiac sympotic poetry,[156] as in the following example from the Theognidean corpus, which addresses an individual and cites a mythological *exemplum* for love:

παιδοφιλεῖν δέ τι τερπνόν, ἐπεί ποτε καὶ Γανυμήδους
ἤρατο καὶ Κρονίδης ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς,
οὕτω μὴ θαύμαζε, Σιμωνίδη, οὕνεκα κἀγὼ
ἐξεφάνην καλοῦ παιδὸς ἔρωτι δαμείς.

Loving boys is something delightful, since once even the son of Cronus,
the king of the immortals, loved Ganymede.
So don't be amazed, Simonides, because I too
have been shown to be mastered by love for a beautiful boy.

(Thgn. 1345–6, 1349–50)

West cautiously attributes these lines to one Euenus (fr. 8c W.),[157] but at any rate they date from the fifth century and hence provide a good example of the sort of sympotic address Theocritus is developing.

Theognis also provides an important parallel for Nicias in a different sense: Cyrnus, the addressee of a large proportion of the corpus. Whatever the merits of Cyrnus' presence in a poem as an indication of its authenticity, his name connects the narrator of the elegies in which it appears much more closely to the historical Theognis. In both ways, then, Nicias recalls the function of Cyrnus.

Two more poems in addition to *Idylls* 11 and 13 begin with addresses to named individuals – *Idylls* 6 and 21. In neither case is the narrator very visible (though the narratorial frame has an important function in *Idyll* 6, as I discuss below).[158] *Idyll* 6 begins by addressing a statement about the meeting of Damoetas and Daphnis to one Aratus (v. 2), while *Idyll* 21 begins with a *gnome* about poverty addressed to one Diophantus:[159] Ἁ πενία, Διόφαντε, μόνα τὰς τέχνας ἐγείρει ('Poverty, Diophantus, alone stirs the skills', v. 1). We should perhaps identify the Aratus of *Idyll* 6

[155] E.g. Gow 1952: II.208. Rosenmeyer 2001: 100 n. 6 rejects *Idylls* 6, 11 and 13 as epistolary, but treats *Idyll* 28 as related to the 'covering letter' type of epigram written to accompany a gift (2001: 100-2). See Hunter 1999: 261 and Gibson–Morrison (forthcoming) on the lack of evidence for epistles in Greek poetry.

[156] Cf. Bowie 1996: 95. [157] West 1989–92: II.66. [158] See pp. 262–5 below.

[159] Gow 1952: II.369 suspects *Idyll* 21 is post-Theocritean.

with the person mentioned in Simichidas' song in *Idyll* 7 as in love with Philinus (v. 98), whom Simichidas addresses with erotic advice (Ἄρατε, 'Aratus', v. 122). As the commentators note,[160] there is little evidence to support an identification with the poet of the *Phaenomena*. In fact, the mention of Aratus in *Idyll* 7 may be part of the play with the relationship of Simichidas to Theocritus (see below), given his address in *Idyll* 6, particularly if this is meant to convey (or to purport to do so) the feelings of the historical author for Aratus as Bowie suggests.[161]

Idylls 16 and 17 also each have a narrator who closely resembles the historical author, but in a different manner from the Nicias poems. The narrator of *Idyll* 16 is a praise-poet who bemoans a modern unwillingness to employ poets and praises the ruler of Syracuse, Hieron II (Ἱέρων προτέροις ἴσος ἡρώεσσι, 'Hieron like the heroes of old', v. 80).[162] The narrator in *Idyll* 17 is also engaged on an encomium, this time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (ἀνδρῶν δ' αὖ Πτολεμαῖος ἐνὶ πρώτοισι λεγέσθω, 'let Ptolemy be spoken of in the foremost of men', v. 3). Both situations, therefore, suggest a professional poet associated with Sicily and Egypt, hence pointing us towards the historical author. But there is much less background detail or quasi-biography in these two poems, despite the relatively high degree of narratorial intrusion. There are first-person forms in *Idyll* 16 at vv. 4 (twice), 6, 9, 14, 66, 67, 68 (twice), 73, 101, 106 (twice), 107, 108, 109, along with the regular expression of opinion and desire, e.g.: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τιμήν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων φιλότητα | πολλῶν ἡμιόνων τε καὶ ἵππων πρόσθεν ἑλοίμαν, 'I would take honour and the friendship of men ahead of many mules and horses', vv. 66–7. So central is the figure of the narrator in *Idyll* 16 that Austin comments that 'the poetic self becomes the real subject of the poem'.[163] In *Idyll* 17 we find, for example, regular apostrophe of various figures: the Muses (v. 1), Aphrodite (vv. 45–50), Deipyle, mother of Diomedes (vv. 53–4), Ptolemy himself (vv. 56–9, 135–7), as well as very many first-person forms.[164] But there is little quasi-biography except for an explicit self-characterisation as 'poet' or 'bard':

> ἄμμες δὲ βροτοὶ οἵδε, βροτοὺς βροτοὶ ἀείδωμεν
>
> We here are mortals, as mortals let us sing of mortals; (*Idyll* 16.4)

[160] Gow 1952: II.118–19, Dover 1971: 141–2, Hunter 1999: 243.
[161] Bowie 1996: 95. Bowie further suggests that *Idyll* 7 is meant in similar fashion to convey Simichidas' feelings for καλὸς Ἀμύντιχος ('fair Amyntichus', v. 132), one of his companions (1996: 96–8).
[162] Cf. Vox 2002. [163] Austin 1986: 108. [164] In vv. 1, 2, 7, 8, 11, 135, 136, 137.

ἔσσεται οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμεῦ κεχρήσετ' ἀοιδοῦ

There shall be that man who needs my song; (*Idyll* 16.73)

ἥρωες, τοὶ πρόσθεν ἀφ' ἡμιθέων ἐγένοντο,
ῥέξαντες καλὰ ἔργα σοφῶν ἐκύρησαν ἀοιδῶν·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπιστάμενος καλὰ εἰπεῖν
ὑμνήσαιμ'

Heroes, born in the past of demigods, carried out
noble deeds and got wise poets.
But I, knowing how to speak nobly, would hymn Ptolemy.
(*Idyll* 17.5–8)

Both narrators, then, show some affinity towards the hymnal or epic *aoidos*-narrators of *Idylls* 22, 24 and 25, particularly clear in the case of *Idyll* 17. In some ways, at least, *Idyll* 17 presents itself as a 'hymn' for Ptolemy (e.g. in ὑμνήσαιμ', 'I would hymn' in v. 8), with a hymnal close strongly reminiscent of the *Homeric Hymns*, although it also stands within wider traditions of poetic and prose encomia.[165] It may be this encomiastic tradition which explains the greater intrusion by the narrating voice in *Idylls* 16 and 17 when compared with *Idylls* 22, 24 and 25, as well as the *Homeric Hymns*.[166] The prominent praising voice in Pindar's epinician poetry, for example, can help to establish the sincerity of the praise by stressing a personal relationship with the *laudandus*.[167] Despite this high degree of narratorial visibility, there is only one other, though very unusual, piece of quasi-biography in either poem: the presentation in *Idyll* 16 of ἡμετέρας Χάριτας ('our Graces', v. 6) in terms reminiscent of begging children, who return home empty-handed, σκυζόμεναι γυμνοῖς ποσίν ('angry and barefoot', v. 8),[168] but who are also said to reside κενεᾶς ἐν πυθμένι χηλοῦ ('deep in an empty chest', v. 10), a reference to an anecdote about Simonides, who kept one chest for money and another for χάριτες, 'thanks'.[169] This figures the narrator briefly as a sort of 'Fagin'

[165] Cf. Hunter 2003: 8–24 on *Idyll* 17's development of, but also differences from, poetic encomia such as Pindaric epinicians and now fragmentary encomia (such as fr. 121 S.–M.), as well as prose encomia such as Isocrates' *Evagoras*.

[166] Although *Idyll* 17 restricts first-person forms to the beginning and end of the poem in the manner of most *Homeric Hymns*.

[167] E.g. *P.* 10.64–5: 'I trust in the kindly friendship of Thorax, who busily for my sake yoked this four-horsed chariot of the Pierides.'

[168] See Merkelbach 1952: 314–18, Hunter 1996: 92–3.

[169] Cf. Ar. *Pax* 695ff. with schol. ad loc.(=T22, Campbell 1982–93: III), Hunter 1996: 100.

who sends songs out to provide for him, a striking domestication of the Archaic lyric praise-poet's 'sending out' of his song across the sea.[170]

Perhaps the most important (and most famous) play with quasi-biography, the 'autobiographical assumption' and the relationship between narrator and author in Theocritus is that in *Idyll* 7, the *Thalysia*. The poem begins with a first-person statement:

> ἦς χρόνος ἀνίκ' ἐγών τε καὶ Εὔκριτος εἰς τὸν Ἅλεντα
> εἴρπομες ἐκ πόλιος, σὺν καὶ τρίτος ἄμμιν Ἀμύντας.
>
> There was a time when I and Eucritus were going to Haleis
> from the city, and with us Amyntas made up the three. (vv. 1–2)

This statement is about the past, which not only distances the narrative,[171] but also strengthens the impression that the first person refers to a narrator closely connected to the historical author, by the 'autobiographical assumption'. The fact that the narrator comes ἐκ πόλιος ('from the city', v. 2) and is a friend of the Coan aristocracy (vv. 4–7)[172] further supports the view that he is 'Theocritus', as later does the narrator's address of an addressee of Theocritus (Aratus, v. 122, cf. *Idyll* 6.2) in a 'bucolic' song. It comes, then, as a surprise when the narrator is addressed by Lycidas as Σιμιχίδα ('Simichidas', v. 21). There are parallels for Greek poems which open with a first person that is later revealed as not referring to the poet (e.g. Archilochus fr. 19 W.),[173] but such an effect in a narrative about the past is most akin to that in Plato's *Lysis* or *Republic*, which only reveal that the narrator is Socrates some way into the works.[174]

The relationship between Simichidas and Theocritus (or 'Theocritus') is an old problem. There have been many answers: (e.g.) they are the same person, and 'Simichidas' perhaps an alias (rather than a disguise) for Theocritus, rather as 'Sicelidas' for Asclepiades (used at *Idyll* 7.40);[175] they are completely different people; Simichidas is Theocritus' fictional delegate, who meets in the poem another fictional character, Lycidas.[176]

[170] See Hunter 1996: 93, and compare *N.* 5.3–4, quoted above.
[171] Cf. Goldhill 1991a: 226. [172] Cf. Hunter 1999: 153.
[173] So Bowie 1985: 67. [174] So Hunter 1999: 145.
[175] E.g. Gow 1952: II.128–9. The possibility that Simichidas might be an alias for Theocritus, and likewise that Lycidas might also stand for an identifiable poet, has led in the past to considerable speculation about which other poets might be concealed by aliases in the bucolic poems of Theocritus. On this 'mascarade bucolique' and its background see the sensible comments of Gow 1952: II.129–30.
[176] Bowie 1985: 77, who suggests Lycidas is a figure from Philetan pastoral, with whom Theocritus could not converse directly.

It is clear that there is *some* relationship between Simichidas and Theocritus.[177] I suggest (though this is hardly original) that the ambiguity about Simichidas' status is deliberate: a bucolic poet from the city who addresses the addressees of Theocritus and strives to emulate Philetas and Asclepiades is meant to recall, at least, the Syracusan poet. But the name of Simichidas,[178] as well, perhaps, as the unique setting on Cos, prevents a simple identification – there is no good evidence for thinking that Theocritus ever used the name outside *Idyll* 7 itself. It is worth noting, therefore, that *Idyll* 7 subtly ironises the figure of Simichidas, principally through Lycidas and the poetic 'initiation' he engineers,[179] complementing the complex literary texture of the poem (encompassing epic, didactic, sympotic lyric and *iambos*).[180] This effect is altered by introducing the problem of the relationship of the narrator to the author (perhaps already present in the naming of Εὔκριτος ('Eucritus', v. 1) as one of Simichidas' companions), hence also the reference of the irony.

Different again from the preceding poems are the last two poems in the collection, the paederastic (and lyric) *Idylls* 29 and 30, which provide much 'information' about the narrator. As we have seen, *Idyll* 29 is a monologue, which obliquely indicates its setting and is addressed to the narrator's *eromenos*. But though in common with the other monologues it is rich in quasi-biography, unlike them it also has a narrator whom we naturally associate to a degree with the historical author. In this, as in its metre and dialect,[181] it resembles *Idyll* 30.

The first-person narrative of *Idyll* 29 suggests a connection to the author (by the 'autobiographical assumption'), as does the subject matter, love. In Callimachus' epigrams, for example, 'Callimachus' is much more likely to be the speaker if the epigram is erotic (the only exception being *Epigr.* 25 Pf., which contains no reference to narrator or addressee, and narrates the betrayal of Ionis entirely in the third person). As opposed to *Idyll* 12, there are no indications here of a rusticity which might tell against an association with Theocritus, and many scholars take the poem as addressed to a boy to whom *Theocritus* is devoted.[182] The quasi-biographical material here emphasises the narrator's attraction to the boy (τὸ γὰρ αἴμισυ τὰς

[177] Cf. Hunter 1999: 146 and the useful survey in Dover 1971: 147–8.
[178] See Rosenmeyer 1963: 63, Seeck 1975: 199–200, Goldhill 1991a: 230.
[179] See pp. 000–000 below. [180] See Hunter 1996: 23–7.
[181] Both poems are in Aeolic, *Idyll* 29 in the 'Sapphic fourteen-syllable' of Sappho's second book, *Idyll* 30 in the 'Greater Asclepiad' of Sappho's third – see Hunter 1996: 172. See also Fassino–Prauscello 2001, esp. 19–37, on the differences between *Idylls* 28 and 30 on the one hand and *Idyll* 29 on the other in their use of Archaic and more recent metrical models.
[182] E.g. Gow 1952: II.504.

ζοΐας ἔχω|ζὰ τὰν σὰν ἰδέαν, 'for I have half my life because of your beauty', *Idyll* 29.5–6), his love and the pains the boy causes him (τὸν φιλέοντ' ὀνίαις δίδων, 'giving your lover pain', v. 9), his having been overcome by Eros (κἄμε μόλθακον ἐξ ἐπόησε σιδαρίω, 'has made even iron me soft', v. 24), and his willingness to do anything for his love (νῦν μὲν κἀπὶ τὰ χρύσια μᾶλ' ἔνεκεν σέθεν, 'now even to the golden apples for you', v. 37). The picture is one of complete (and one-sided) infatuation, which makes the likelihood of the narrator's plea that the boy be faithful, with the promise of a lasting friendship in the future, seem very remote, and provides much of the irony in the narrator's words.[183] We also learn of the relative ages of the narrator and his lover (ἀλλ' αἴ μοί τι πίθοιο νέος προγενεστέρῳ, 'but if you would listen to me, a young man to his elder', v. 10), though their position as *erastes* and *eromenos* is clear enough in any case.

Idyll 30 begins with an exclamation by the narrator about his affliction (τῶδε νοσήματος, 'this sickness', v. 1), which turns out to be a passion for a boy. He has been suffering for two months (v. 2), and the sickness comes and goes (v. 5), but he predicts that soon there will be no escape even in sleep (v. 6). This is because of an incident ἔχθες ('yesterday', v. 7): the boy glanced at the narrator, with the result that ἔμεθεν δὲ πλέον τὰς κραδίας ὦρος ἐδράξατο ('love grasped my heart more', v. 9). Again, as in *Idyll* 29, the first-person narration and the subject matter suggest, at least, an association with the historical author. There then follows the most surprising aspect of the quasi-biography in the poem – the narration of a conversation with the narrator's own θυμός or 'heart'.[184] The narrator reproaches his θυμός with the inappropriateness of such behaviour at his age (vv. 12–15), which Hunter compares to the fathers of comedy lecturing their sons.[185] The θυμός, in contrast, appeals to reason – Eros is the θέος ὃς καὶ Δίος ἔσφαλε μέγαν νόον ('god who threw down even the great mind of Zeus', v. 30) – in defence of its passionate behaviour.[186]

VOICE AND VIEWPOINT

Much recent scholarship on Hellenistic poetry has, as I discussed in the Introduction, concentrated on voice and its relationship to points of view in Hellenistic poetry.[187] Goldhill, for example, has explored the polyphony

[183] Cf. pp. 250–2 above. [184] See further pp. 252–3 above.
[185] Hunter 1996: 182, citing e.g. Ter. *Ad.* 685–95. [186] Cf. Hutchinson 1988: 169.
[187] See, e.g., Goldhill 1986, 1991a, D'Alessio 1996: I.5–23, Lüddecke 1998.

in Theocritus and the use of framing narratives and inset songs,[188] building explicitly on Seeck's view that such effects are the result of the problematic status of writing poetry and the figure of the poet in the Hellenistic period,[189] which Goldhill attributes to the anxious awareness of the monuments and literature of the past.[190] The content and the variety of voice and narrative within that literature triggered extensive experimentation with their own narrators and the presentation of competing speakers and voices. This is particularly clear in Theocritus in such poems as *Idyll* 26, which, as we have seen, adapts Archaic choral compositions. But we should see an engagement with Archaic uses of voice and narrator even in examples of Hellenistic polyphony which do not seem so obviously connected to Archaic models, such as the framing narratives and inset songs of Theocritus.

When considering Hellenistic and Theocritean polyphony we should bear in mind all of the following: the presence of more than one voice in Alcman's choral songs (*PMGF* 3.1–9, where 'the narrator might appear to be speaking as an individual member of the chorus who has heard *others* [my italics] singing',[191] against the more straightforwardly choral *PMGF* 3.61ff.), the separation of chorus from chorus leader in Alcman *PMGF* 1,[192] the deliberately changed status of Pindaric epinician first persons on reperformance, the scholarly opinion reflected in the Pindar scholia that first persons could on occasion refer to the victor or the chorus as well as the poet. The key difference, however, in the handling of these multiple voices is that in the Hellenistic period, as Goldhill has emphasised, they become the vehicle for the undermining, distancing or ironising of the authority of the poet or the primary narrator.

In *Idyll* 11, for example, the narrative about Polyphemus does not appear to do the job it is cited to do (to show that song can treat love, vv. 1–3),[193] which at least makes us reassess the narrating voice which provides this example.[194] In *Idyll* 11 the words of the primary narrator frame (vv. 1–18, 80–1) a song of Polyphemus. Though the reader naturally associates this narrator closely with the author, the narrator's authority does not go unchallenged by the song which he quotes (ἄειδε τοιαῦτα, 'he sang as

[188] Cf. also Hutchinson 1988: 179–88, Bowie 1996, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 162–7.
[189] See Seeck 1975: 203. [190] See Goldhill 1986: 30–1.
[191] Hutchinson 2001: 106. [192] Cf. Hutchinson 2001: 77.
[193] Cf. Fantuzzi 1995: 17–18, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 164–5.
[194] See D'Alessio 1996: I.5–23 on the deliberate avoidance of a fixed point of view in Callimachus through the narration of peripheral events or facts (e.g. in the *Cydippe* from *Aetia* 3), which in some ways develops Archaic 'unusual narrative emphasis', but now not to abbreviate material irrelevant for the (e.g. encomiastic) purpose of the poem, but as a deliberate effect.

follows', v. 18). In particular, though the narrator tells us Polyphemus τὸ φάρμακον εὗρε ('found the cure', v. 17), Polyphemus' song suggests he is far from cured, as he berates Galatea for rejecting him (vv. 19ff.), announces that he will change his appearance for her (vv. 50ff.) and complains that his mother does little to help his romancing (vv. 67ff.). Furthermore, singing is also a symptom of his love: ὃ δὲ τὰν Γαλάτειαν ἀείδων | αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἀιόνος κατετάκετο φυκιοέσσας ('singing about Galatea he wasted away on the seaweedy shore', vv. 13–14). Hence the long debate about whether the Cyclops is 'cured'.[195] But in fact the tension between frame and inset is intentional, as Goldhill points out.[196] The word φάρμακον itself is ambiguous, meaning 'poison' as well as 'remedy', and the narrator's descriptions of Polyphemus similarly open: οὕτω γοῦν ῥάιστα διᾶγ' ὁ Κύκλωψ ('in this way, at least, the Cyclops fared as well as possible', v. 7), οὕτω τοι Πολύφαμος ἐποίμαινεν τὸν ἔρωτα | μουσίσδων, ῥᾷον δὲ διᾶγ' ἢ εἰ χρυσὸν ἔδωκεν ('so Polyphemus shepherded his love by singing, and fared better than if he had given gold', vv. 80–1).

The language of 'shepherding love' and 'faring better' is not the language of a final cure,[197] despite the Cyclops 'finding a cure' in v. 17. The song which the narrator quotes reveals a different meaning for φάρμακον, something like 'palliative'. The meaning of the frame is altered by the inset, and the frame is vital in creating the ambiguity of the scene as a whole.[198] The primary narrator's words do not provide straightforward access to the events of the story – we must check them against the words of a character.

Idyll 6 responds to *Idyll* 11 and reworks and reverses various elements.[199] The same characters, Polyphemus and Galatea, reappear in *Idyll* 6, though without scene-setting or introduction, and Polyphemus sits piping at *Idyll* 6.8–9, recalling his song in *Idyll* 11. Where Polyphemus had consoled himself with the possibility of finding another woman in *Idyll* 11 (εὑρήσεις Γαλάτειαν ἴσως καὶ καλλίον' ἄλλαν, 'you will find another Galatea, perhaps even more beautiful', v. 76), now he uses this against Galatea herself (ἀλλ' ἄλλαν τινὰ φαμὶ γυναῖκ' ἔχεν, 'I say I have another woman', *Idyll* 6.26). Where he wasted away before (κατετάκετο, *Idyll* 11.14), now she does so (τάκεται, *Idyll* 6.27).[200] But of particular importance here is

[195] Cf., e.g., Dover's (1971: 174) suggestion that the Cyclops *eventually* found a remedy by *persisting* in singing.
[196] Goldhill 1986: 34. [197] Cf. Hunter 1999: 220. [198] Cf. Goldhill 1991a: 254.
[199] See Köhnken 1996, Hunter 1999: 244. It seems likely to have been written after *Idyll* 6 but strict priority is not particularly important – *Idyll* 11 might as easily play off *Idyll* 6.
[200] Cf. Köhnken 1996: 179.

the development of a play with different speakers, their authority and the interpretation of characters' actions.

Idyll 6 begins, as *Idyll* 11, with the words of the primary narrator directed at the addressee of the poem, named in the second line of the poem (Nicias, *Idyll* 11.2, Aratus, *Idyll* 6.2). But where *Idyll* 11 has eighteen lines before the song of Polyphemus, there are only five in *Idyll* 6. The primary narrator in *Idyll* 6 is far less visible than that in *Idyll* 11 – there are no first-person forms (contrast *Idyll* 11: ἐμίν, 'to me', v. 2; οἶμαι, 'I think', v. 5; ἁμῖν, 'our', v. 7), nor any gnomic musings by the primary narrator (contrast: οὐδὲν ποττὸν ἔρωτα πεφύκει φάρμακον ἄλλο | . . . | ἢ ταὶ Πιερίδες, 'there is no cure for love . . . other than the Muses', *Idyll* 11.1–3), nor the emotional descriptions of the narrator in *Idyll* 11 (ὀρθαῖς μανίαις, 'with stark madness', v. 11; ἔχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἕλκος, 'having a most grievous wound beneath his breast', v. 15). The narrative of the primary narrator is spare: Damoetas and Daphnis, briefly described, once gathered the herd together in one place, at a spring at noon in the summer, and sang. Daphnis sings first (*Idyll* 6.6–19),[201] as though he were a witness of the courtship of Polyphemus and Galatea,[202] and then Damoetas replies, after one transitional line from the primary narrator (v. 20), in the persona of Polyphemus himself (vv. 21–40).[203] At the end of this song, the narrator tells us in a further five lines that the two kissed and exchanged gifts. Hence the structure of *Idyll* 6 is similar to that of *Idyll* 11 – narrative frame around a song of Polyphemus, but with the added complexity of another singer, and the impersonation of the Cyclops.

The impersonal, unobtrusive third-person narration of the primary narrator is reminiscent of much of that of the Homeric narrator, and stands in contrast to the more involved songs of Daphnis and Damoetas. But it is particularly appropriate because of the shifts in speaker in the poem. From the bare narrative of the frame we pass to that of Daphnis, the 'witness' of the courtship. His song is addressed to the Cyclops, as the narrator's had been to Aratus – Πολύφαμε ('Polyphemus', v. 6), ὦ Πολύφαμε ('o Polyphemus', v. 19), and describes, in the third person, the behaviour of Galatea. She pelts his flock, and calls him unlucky in love and a goatherd (vv. 6–7). But this secondary narrator is more emotionally engaged than the primary narrator: τάλαν τάλαν ('wretch, wretch', v. 8) he calls Polyphemus, points out (ἴδε, 'look', v. 9) her pelting of his dog and

[201] As he had proposed the match, *Idyll* 6.5, the filling in of an ellipsis which (exceptionally) does draw attention to the narrator.
[202] Cf. Köhnken 1996: 179. [203] Cf. Gow 1952: II.118.

warns him not to let the dog bite Galatea (vv. 13–14). But though he may be more concerned for Polyphemus, his third-person narration as a witness leaves open Galatea's real feelings, which are made ambiguous by his statement that she καὶ φεύγει φιλέοντα καὶ οὐ φιλέοντα διώκει ('flees one who loves her and chases one who does not love her', v. 17). Is her affection genuine, or is she teasing Polyphemus, like the girls of *Idyll* 11.77–8?[204]

Daphnis' formal anonymity in his role as witness of the events he describes also problematises his testimony. Damoetas sings in the persona of Polyphemus, so it is legitimate to ask whether Daphnis takes on a persona. The possibilities are several. Daphnis may be *the* Daphnis, the bucolic 'hero' of *Idyll* 1,[205] who might have been able to witness Polyphemus' courtship, or he might be Odysseus, Polyphemus' most famous visitor.[206] If the latter, such statements as τύ νιν οὐ ποθόρησθα ('you do not see her', v. 8) become bitterly ironic (and prophetic), and suggest that the report of Galatea's love is hardly trustworthy.

From third-person primary and then secondary narrators we move to the impersonation of Polyphemus himself, who carefully answers each of Daphnis' points.[207] Here we learn of Polyphemus' interpretation of Galatea's behaviour: hearing that he has another woman she ζαλοῖ μ', ὦ Παιάν, καὶ τάκεται, ἐκ δὲ θαλάσσας | οἰστρεῖ παπταίνοισα ποτ' ἄντρα τε καὶ ποτὶ ποίμνας ('is jealous of me, o Paean, and wastes away, and rages gazing at my caves and flocks from the sea', vv. 27–8). He presents her as in the same sorry situation as the Polyphemus of *Idyll* 11. The emphasis in his song is on his creation of this changed situation: εἶδον ('I saw', v. 21), he begins, and claims αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κνίζων πάλιν οὐ ποθόρημι ('teasing her back I myself don't look at her', v. 25), σίξα δ' ὑλακτεῖν νιν καὶ τᾷ κυνί ('I got my dog to bark at her', v. 29) – *he* has altered the behaviour of his dog, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κλᾳξῶ θύρας ('but I will bolt the doors', v. 32), though bolting his door puts him in the passive/female position in a *paraklausithyron*. But because Daphnis' role is never determined, so that we cannot gauge the value of his evidence, we cannot be sure whether Polyphemus *has* done all that he claims. The very point-by-point response to Daphnis may indicate that he is defending himself by accepting Daphnis' broad description of events and claiming responsibility for them, without any implication that these events are actually true.

[204] See Hunter 1999: 244.

[205] See Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 149–50, who note that Daphnis' advice to Polyphemus not to ignore Galatea is very ironic in the light of his (or his namesake's) behaviour in *Idyll* 1.82–8.

[206] Cf. Hunter 1999: 245–6, with more suggestions.

[207] Cf. Köhnken 1996: 177–8.

The final five lines of the poem, where the primary narrator returns, might have pointed us to the reliability or unreliability of one or other of the songs, to give us a clue in reconstructing what Galatea's behaviour 'really' was or what it might mean. But this frame again serves to underline the preceding ambiguity, rather than resolve it, and pointedly fails to provide any resolution of the problems of the inset songs. Neither song is ranked above the other, despite this being formally a song contest, and the poem ends: νίκη μὲν οὐδάλλος, ἀνήσσατοι δ᾽ ἐγένοντο ('there was no victory, and they were undefeated', v. 46). Neither of the singers is victorious, and none of the speakers is allowed to claim definitive authority. This is 'an abnormal competition',[208] and this abnormality is an indication of its artificiality.[209] This is the mimesis of a song contest, and the narrator's framing comments highlight its singers' literariness and the stylised bucolic world they inhabit.[210]

We find further play with the point of view of the primary narrator and his authority in *Idyll* 7. As noted above, this poem is narrated by one Simichidas, who seems to be related to some degree to the historical author,[211] and tells of a past meeting with an ἐσθλὸν . . . ἄνδρα ('noble man', v. 12):

> οὔνομα μὲν Λυκίδαν, ἦς δ᾽ αἰπόλος, οὐδέ κέ τίς νιν
> ἠγνοίησεν ἰδών, ἐπεὶ αἰπόλῳ ἔξοχ᾽ ἐώκει.
>
> By name Lycidas, he was a goatherd, and no one could fail
> to realise this on seeing him, since he looked very like a goatherd.
>
> (vv. 13–14)

This peculiar description of a goatherd who looks extremely like a goatherd suggests to the audience that Lycidas may be more (or less) than he seems, and scholars have proposed a variety of identities for him, e.g. Apollo,[212] or a character from Philetan pastoral.[213] But we need to remember who is describing Lycidas. Whatever the precise relationship between Simichidas and Theocritus, there is no straightforward identity – it is *Simichidas* who calls Lycidas a goatherd, not Theocritus. Again, the assertions of the primary narrator in Theocritus do not have a claim to definitive truth. Simichidas, as Seeck points out,[214] is *not* omniscient, and his first-person

[208] Hutchinson 1988: 183.
[209] Cf. Collins 2004: 54–8 on the 'problem of judgement' in literary representations of song contests such as *Idylls* 5, 6 and 8.
[210] On this bucolic world, which contains 'realistic' touches, see Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 141–67.
[211] See pp. 258–9 above. [212] See, e.g., Williams 1971.
[213] See Bowie 1985. [214] Seeck 1975: 198–9.

narration is vital in maintaining the ambiguity over Lycidas' identity, crystallised in vv. 13–14 above. There is no external narrator to strip away the disguise.[215] The use of a primary narrator allows information to be related to the audience about Lycidas' appearance, and his smell (reeking of fresh rennet, v. 16), which would not have been possible in a mime or dialogue without a framing narrative.[216] But because the narrator is a character within the narrative itself, the identity of Lycidas remains open.[217]

The meeting of Simichidas and Lycidas as a whole has clear affinities with a meeting with a god, in particular of a *Dichterweihe* or poetic initiation.[218] It displays various characteristics of such a meeting, e.g. the time of day (noon – μεσαμέριον, v. 21),[219] and of an initiation, e.g. the handing over of a staff: ὁ δέ μοι τὸ λαγωβόλον ('he gave me his staff', v. 128). But there are numerous oddities. Unlike Hesiod before his initiation (ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ', 'shepherding his lambs', *Th.* 23), Simichidas is *already* a poet (ἐγὼ Μοισᾶν καπυρὸν στόμα, 'I am a clear-sounding mouth of the Muses', v. 37).[220] The staff which Lycidas gives Simichidas is not a poet's staff but a herdsman's crook,[221] and one which is crooked (vv. 18–19), with awkward associations of lies and dishonesty, e.g. in Hesiod.[222] But most important of all are the attitudes of Lycidas and Simichidas.

Simichidas presents himself as modest, saying that 'all say I am the best of singers' (vv. 37–8), but that he does not believe it, and considers himself as yet no match for Sicelidas and Philetas (vv. 38–40): βάτραχος δὲ ποτ' ἀκρίδας ὥς τις ἐρίσδω ('I compete with them like a frog against crickets', v. 41). Immediately, however, Simichidas the narrator reveals that he spoke ἐπίταδες, 'with a purpose' (v. 42). This, and the use of οὐ . . . πω, 'not yet' (v. 39) with reference to his rivalry of Sidelidas and Philetas, show his

[215] Cf. Goldhill 1991a: 228–9. [216] Cf. Seeck 1975: 198–9.

[217] Cf. the identity of the stranger who gives Euphemus a clod of earth at Pindar *P.* 4.21–3. Medea tells us twice (vv. 21–3, 28–9) that he is a god, though he claims to be Eurypylus, son of Poseidon (vv. 33–4), and many scholars follow the scholia (ad *P.* 4.29, Drachmann 1903–27: II.104) in thinking he is Triton. But we should remember Medea is a character, a secondary narrator, albeit a prophetic one. The identity of the god and the fact that he is a god are not therefore certain.

[218] Cf. Williams 1971: 37. On such poetic initiations see Kambylis 1965.

[219] Cf. Cameron 1963: 301–2 and Teiresias in Call. *H.* 6.

[220] Cf. Hunter 1999: 149. But it could be that Simichidas is being initiated into a different kind of poetry, namely bucolic song. He begins as a poet travelling 'from the city' (v. 2) and claims an association with the Muses (v. 37). Later, however, he claims it is the Nymphs who have taught him song while he tends his herds (vv. 91–3), and these Nymphs are much more important inspirers of bucolic song in Theocritus' bucolic poems (see Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 153–6). Perhaps we have in *Idyll* 7 a poetic version of the 'origins' of bucolic, the meeting of sophisticated poet and the world of his poetry (cf. Hunter 1999: 148–9).

[221] So Cameron 1995: 416. [222] E.g. *Op.* 219ff. Cf. Hunter 1999: 164.

modesty to be feigned.[223] Lycidas replies, ἁδὺ γελάσσας ('laughing pleasantly', v. 42), with the ambiguous description of Simichidas as πᾶν ἐπ' ἀλαθείᾳ πεπλασμένον ἐκ Διὸς ἔρνος ('a sapling fabricated all for truth by Zeus', v. 44), πεπλασμένον suggesting also 'invented', 'made-up',[224] and what many have taken to be an expression of poetic principles:

> ὥς μοι καὶ τέκτων μέγ' ἀπέχθεται ὅστις ἐρευνῇ
> ἶσον ὄρευς κορυφᾷ τελέσαι δόμον Ὠρομέδοντος,
> καὶ Μοισᾶν ὄρνιχες ὅσοι ποτὶ Χῖον ἀοιδόν
> ἀντία κοκκύζοντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι.
>
> They anger me both, the builder who aims to make
> his house as big as the top of Mount Oromedon,
> and the birds of the Muses who against the Chian singer
> chatter and labour in vain. (vv. 45–8)

In other words, Lycidas hates those poets who do not realise their inferiority to Homer, and enviously complain about him.[225] Because, however, Simichidas' modesty is feigned, and he thinks only that he vies with Sicelidas and Philetas like a frog against grasshoppers for the time being, there is a hint that Simichidas may be the target here.[226] Lycidas agrees ironically with Simichidas' assessment of his inferiority – 'you are a sapling fabricated all for truth by Zeus' – and then goes on to hint that he is aware that Simichidas' modesty is false. This is marked by his mocking smile at v. 42, the Homeric formula ἡδὺ γελάσσας ('laughing pleasantly') being used generally of mocking laughter at someone else's expense.[227] Lycidas is hinting that it is Simichidas who fancies himself as a rival to Homer.[228]

This ironic attitude of Lycidas, as well as his position as a character in a dramatic situation,[229] means we must be very careful in positing any firm 'programmatic' significance for Lycidas' words.[230] Asper, for example, has argued that the images of the builder and the birds of the Muses chattering against Homer fit into the three-term comparison he calls the '*Temachos*-schema' (Homer–misguided rivals–'Callimachean' poet), which he also applies to Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*.[231] But the fact is that Lycidas' reply is firmly tied to its context within the poem, and takes up the substance of Simichidas' speech. It is true that Lycidas, in contrast to Simichidas, is not ironised, and Lycidas' comments in vv. 45–8 do recall some poetological

[223] Cf. Segal 1974a: 130–1. [224] See Goldhill 1991a: 232, Hunter 1999: 163.
[225] Cf. Hutchinson 1988: 202. [226] Cf. Segal 1974a: 135.
[227] Cf., e.g., *Il.* 2.270, the Greeks at Thersites. Cf. Cameron 1995: 412–15.
[228] So Cameron 1995: 417–18. [229] See Hutchinson 1988: 203, Cameron 1995: 421.
[230] Cf. Goldhill 1991a: 230. [231] See pp. 133–7 above.

statements in Callimachus, but the most we can say is that bucolic song is not, or should not be, like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

This Theocritean 'initiation', which presents the initiator regarding the primary narrator ironically, but which does not determine the identity of either figure involved we should see in terms of the avoidance in Hellenistic poetry and in Theocritus of definitive narratorial or poetic authority. We do not know who Lycidas is, nor the precise relationship of Simichidas to Theocritus, so we cannot be sure of the meaning of Lycidas' irony or the degree of self-depreciation in the feigned modesty and ironising of Simichidas.

OVERVIEW

We find in Theocritus many of the same characteristics which we observed in Callimachus. In several poems Theocritus makes the primary narrator prominent, while various poems play with the relationship of narrator to author, or ironise the primary narrator. The greater visibility of the primary narrator in several Theocritean poems as compared to Homer points to the use of Archaic models other than the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as do the subtle variations in the projection of the historical author in the narrator. The use of the gap between narrator and author and of moralising passages reminiscent of some Archaic narrators to ironise or undercut the primary narrator's authority resembles some of the effects in Callimachus, and we should see this partly in terms of a wider Hellenistic concern with poetic authority.

Readers naturally connect the narrator strongly to the historical author in *Idylls* 11, 13 and 28, where the common addressee, Nicias, suggests the narrator is 'Theocritus' (recalling the 'unifying' function of Cyrnus in Theognis), as does the narrator's Sicilian nationality in *Idylls* 11 and 28. The persona of a professional poet associated with Sicily and Egypt which Theocritus develops in *Idylls* 16 and 17 again recalls the historical author, while the subject matter of *Idylls* 29 and 30 (love), alongside their anonymous first-person narration, implies a close relationship of narrator to author. We find the most extensive play with the identity of the narrator and his connections to the historical Theocritus in *Idyll* 7, which shares the framework of first-person narration. The narrator also addresses addressees of Theocritus (Aratus in Simichidas the narrator's inset song, v. 102), and strives to emulate Asclepiades and Philetas.

The name of the narrator, however, is explicitly not 'Theocritus'. The setting is Cos (rather than Sicily or Alexandria). Furthermore, the first-person

narration by an internal (homodiegetic) narrator enables the creation of ambiguity about the identity and attitude of Lycidas, who seems to be initiating the narrator in some manner, but may regard him ironically. Hence the audience hears an initiation without being sure of who the narrator is, who is initiating him or what his attitude is to the initiate.

The presentation of the narrator in this manner in *Idyll* 7 both ironises him and fractures his authority – he cannot present a definitive account of the meeting with Lycidas or of the precise attitude Lycidas displays. Both the ironising of the primary narrator and the fracturing of his authority are important elements in several Theocritean poems. In *Idyll* 6 the primary narrator's outer frame carefully avoids choosing between the two inset songs (ostensibly sung in competition, v. 5), which underlines the ambiguity over the meaning of Galatea's behaviour as presented in the inset songs. In *Idyll* 11 the inset song of Polyphemus modifies the narrator's description of Polyphemus' condition and points us to the ambiguities of the narrator's description and of vocabulary such as φάρμακον ('drug'/'cure', v. 1).

There is ironising of the narrator even where he is not closely connected to the historical author, as in the monologues *Idylls* 3 (a rustic *paraklausithyron*), 12 (a record of self-delusion) and 20 (a narrator with over-inflated opinions of himself). The portrayal of these narrators in the monologues comes with extensive quasi-biography, as also in *Idyll* 2 (where Simaetha is not presented in a particularly ironic manner) and *Idyll* 29 (which ironises its narrator and exposes his moralising as a sham).

The monologues (*Idylls* 2, 3, 12, 20, 29) in general closely resemble Callimachus' mimetic hymns, which develop the Archaic phenomena of pseudo-intimacy and pseudo-spontaneity. The fact that the setting of the Theocritean monologues is private, however, brings them even closer to the situation of (for example) Sappho's poems, presenting the relations and emotions felt within a private, closed group.

In Callimachus' mimetic *H.* 2 part of the play is an ambiguity as to the identity of the speaker (chorus or 'poet'). This develops similar perceived ambiguities in Archaic poems with an individualised speaker which were initially performed by a chorus. *Idyll* 18 also presents the juxtaposition of a singular voice and that of a chorus, but keeps the voices separate and firmly demarcated, using the characteristically Theocritean technique of the inset song within an outer frame to present a version of a text from the distant past – a Spartan wedding song for Helen and Menelaus. The presentation in terms of frame and inset points to the difference between the putative audiences of the two parts – a Spartan audience with a Spartan conception

of a faithful Helen, and a Hellenistic audience whose Helen is modified by her presentation in the Homeric poems. *Idyll* 18 presents the Spartan song as a fragment from the past, a poem detached from its context in time and space, whose significance is radically altered in the Hellenistic period. (We should, perhaps, discern a related presentation of 'fragments' in the discrete, unconnected sections of *Idyll* 25.)

In *Idyll* 26 we also find a Theocritean use of a choral voice, and of Archaic moralising. The boy-chorus of the poem expresses itself in first-person statements which recall Pindaric moralising first persons. But the unsympathetic condemnation of Pentheus which follows the pathetic description of his death reverses the structure and function of the depiction of Pentheus' death in Euripides' *Bacchae*. Instead of ending with Pentheus' mother taking her son's head, then discovering what she has done, eliciting *pathos*, *Idyll* 26 ends with the arresting and uncomfortable declaration of the chorus that it does not care about Pentheus' fate. This points us to the immaturity as well as the purity of the narrator (who is thus ironised). This recalls the effect of the moralising in Callimachus' *H*. 6.

We can also observe Theocritus' adaptation of specific textual models in, for example, his treatment of Pindar's *N*. 1 in *Idyll* 24, where the prominent narrator of the epinician recedes into the background (partly to highlight the contrast between internal and external audiences' interpretations of Teiresias' prophecy). In contrast, *Idyll* 13 may 'lyricise' the epic *Argonautica* of Apollonius in a way reminiscent of Pindar's own lyric *Argonautica*, *Pythian* 4. The Polydeuces section of *Idyll* 22 probably also adapts the *Argonautica*, though in contrast to *Idyll* 13 the pace is fairly even and the descriptions full. The narrator, however, is prominent. In the Castor section of *Idyll* 22 there are reversals of another Pindaric ode, *N*. 10. Where *N*. 10 concentrates on the brotherly feeling of Polydeuces for Castor, in *Idyll* 22 we hear a lengthy speech by Lynceus, which indicates that the Dioscuri are responsible for the quarrel. The culpability of the Dioscuri depicted represents part of Theocritus' experimentation with the presentation of the divine in *Idyll* 22 (where the Dioscuri are also saviours of ships and Polydeuces a civilising influence). Again, this recalls Callimachean hymns such as *H*. 5 and *H*. 6.

CHAPTER 5

Confidence and crisis: the narrator in the Argonautica

INTRODUCTION

Studying the primary narrator of one long epic poem is, of course, very different in many ways from examining the many narrators of shorter poems or parts of poems in Theocritus or Callimachus' *Hymns* or *Aetia*. Nevertheless, there are some important similarities. Apollonius' narrator in the *Argonautica* is much more prominent when compared to Homer's, for example,[1] and exploits many of the devices we are now familiar with from Callimachus and Theocritus to make his presence obvious. There are regular narratorial first-person statements,[2] comments on and judgements about the events in his narrative,[3] addresses to the audience and characters,[4] and prominent passages of indirect speech.[5] Some of these features have (limited) Homeric precedents,[6] but it is clear that there has been a shift in Apollonius towards a greater visible involvement on the part of the narrator in his narrative. The *Argonautica* confuses, but does not entirely abandon, the discrete Homeric narrator- and character-vocabularies of emotive and

[1] See, e.g., Hunter 1993a: 106, Cuypers 2004: 43.

[2] E.g. μνήσομαι ('I shall recall', 1.2), ἐγὼ ... μυθησαίμην ('I will tell', 1.20), μνησώμεθα ('let us recall', 1.23).

[3] E.g. the description of Erinys seeing the murder of Apsyrtus, ὀλοφώιον ἔργον ('deadly deed', 4.476), and the narrator's explanation of Jason's subsequent behaviour in line with ἡ θέμις αὐθέντῃσι δολοκτασίας ἰλάεσθαι ('which is right for murderers to expiate treacherous killing', 4.479). Note that ἡ θέμις ('right') is never used by the Homeric narrator (Griffin 1986: 38).

[4] Audience addressed at 1.725–6, 1.765ff., 2.171ff., 3.1265, 4.238, 4.428, 4.997; characters addressed at 4.1383 (Argonauts), 4.1483ff. (Canthus), 4.1763–5 (Theras, so Fränkel *app. crit.* Vian 1974–81: IV.145, Fusillo 1985: 377), 4.1773ff. (Argonauts). The related device of narratorial exclamation about characters is found at 1.1302 (Boreads), 2.66 (attendants of Amycus), 2.137 (Bebrycians), 2.1028 (king of Mossynoeci), 3.809, 3.1133 (both Medea), 4.875 (Peleus), 4.916 (Butes), 4.1524 (Mopsus). There are also several addresses to gods, e.g. to Eros (4.445ff.).

[5] E.g. the strikingly unusual report of Aeetes' address to the Colchians (3.579–605). For a detailed discussion of this and other important examples see Hunter 1993a: 143–8.

[6] E.g. narratorial addresses to the characters. See the important survey of Hunter 1993a: 101–51 on the development of Homeric models by Apollonius in his use of such devices. See also Knight 1995, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 90–132 more generally on Apollonius' adaptations of Homer.

evaluative language.[7] The Apollonian narrator also invests his exclamations and character addresses with more emotion (e.g. δεσμοὺς ἀνελύετο φωριαμοῖο | ἐξελέειν μεμαυῖα, δυσάμμορος, 'and now she was undoing the ties of the chest, eager to take them out, wretched girl', 3.808–9 of Medea) than Homer does.[8]

The Apollonian narrator also resembles other Hellenistic narrators (e.g. the gradual moral progress of the primary narrators of the *Iambi* towards the new Hipponactean ideal) in that he too becomes a subject for a continuing narrative which runs through the epic, parallel to that about the Argonauts and their quest for the fleece. This narrative does not purport to tell us facts about the narrator's life but concerns his ability to tell the story itself. It presents him as undergoing a progressive loss of his early narratorial confidence in the *Argonautica*, which one might describe as an evolving 'crisis' of the narrator.[9] This 'story about the narrator' builds on, but also differs considerably from, the kind of quasi-biography or autobiography which we have seen in various Archaic poets as well as in several Callimachean and Theocritean poems. Unlike the formal features of the voice of the Apollonian narrator, the 'story about the narrator' has attracted little critical comment itself, and it is to this aspect of the primary narrator of the *Argonautica* that I devote much of this chapter.

The ways in which Apollonius develops the broader 'personality' of his epic narrator in the *Argonautica* also exploit aspects of several Archaic narrators (not just Homer), as well as some Hellenistic models. Apollonius maintains the Homeric 'formal anonymity' of the epic narrator.[10] We are not told specific biographical details such as his name or important events or facts about his life (contrast, e.g., Hesiod's *Works and Days*). That said, it is possible to infer various things about him from oblique indications in the text, such as his being a male Greek (cf. 2.1021–5 on the Mossynoeci: ὅσσα δ' ἐνὶ μεγάροις πεπονήμεθα, κεῖνα θύραζε | ἀψεγέως μέσσῃσιν ἐνὶ ῥέζουσιν ἀγυιαῖς | . . . | . . . | μίσγονται χαμάδις ξυνῇ φιλότητι γυναικῶν, 'whatever we do indoors, these things they do

[7] See Hunter 1993a: 109–11, Cuypers 2004: 51–3.

[8] Cf. Griffin 1986: 47–8.

[9] 'Crisis' in this connection is originally Feeney's term (1991: 90), with reference to the different degrees of narratorial self-confidence and independence visible in the Muse invocations in the *Argonautica* (on which cf. pp. 286–93 below). I should emphasise here that this is a narratorial (rather than authorial) 'crisis' in the sense that in particular in A.R. 4 the narrator appears to enter a sustained period of difficulty in telling the main Argonautic narrative, and comes to rely increasingly on figures such as the Muses, whom he did not appear to require earlier in the epic. Cf. in particular pp. 298–310 below.

[10] Hunter 1993a: 120.

outside blamelessly in the middle of the street ... they have sex with women on the ground in public'), living long after the Argonauts (cf. 4.1764 on the colonisation of Thera taking place a long time after the days of Euphemus).[11] But the most important elements in this oblique characterisation of the narrator are his presentation as a scholar and someone prepared to react morally and emotionally to his narrative. In these areas both Hellenistic and Archaic models are in operation – the moralising persona recalls those we find in Hesiod, Archaic monody, elegy, *iambos*, and in Pindar, while the scholarship of the Apollonian narrator evokes Callimachus and the erudition of Hellenistic scholar-poets.

A SCHOLAR

One of the most obvious characteristics of the *Argonautica*, and one which sets it apart from the Homeric epics, is the great deal of scientific, ethnographical and particularly aetiological information which the narrator provides for his audience.[12] Critics have identified various purposes for this information: one reads the un-Homeric connection of narratorial present and mythological past which takes place in Apollonius' aetia as a 'betrayal' of Homeric epic,[13] shattering the fiction of the 'absolute past' maintained in Homer,[14] while another has stressed the use of aetiology to provide a 'sense of cultural continuity' for Alexandrian intellectuals.[15] Another important function of such information, which will concern us here, is to 'fill out' the persona of the narrator.

This is a narrator who has, as a result of his own researches, or those of his fellow scholars, come to know a great deal about the extant signs of the Argonautic voyage: names (such as the Magnesian coast still called the *Aphetae Argous*, 'Departure of the *Argo*', after the departure thence of the Argonauts, 1.591; the islands called the *Strophades*, 'Turning Isles', from the turning there of the Boreads in their pursuit of the Harpies, 2.296–7; or the 'Cave of Medea', where the marriage of Jason and Medea takes place, 4.1153–5), monuments (such as the grave mound of Cyzicus, still visible, 1.1161–2; or the altar to *Homonoea* set up after the Argonauts see Apollo at dawn, 2.717–19) and natural phenomena (such as the Etesian winds,

[11] Not wholly without precedent in Homer as the οἷοι νῦν βροτοί-passages on 'such as mortals are today' show (e.g. *Il.* 5.302–4). Cf. de Jong 1987: 44–5.

[12] Cf. Goldhill 1991a: 327–8. [13] See Fusillo 1985: 137–42.

[14] See also Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 91–3.

[15] Zanker 1987: 120–4. See also Stephens 2003: 171–95 on the place of such aetiologies in depicting the relationship between Greeks and non-Greeks in North Africa and around the Mediterranean.

instituted by Zeus because of Aristaeus, 2.498–526; or the skin-coloured pebbles in the beach on Aethalia, from the scrapings of sweat by the Argonauts, 4.654ff.).[16]

The narrator often adopts the tone of an ethnographer, noting with interest the customs and habits of the peoples the Argonauts encounter on their travels.[17] Of the Mossynoeci he comments: ἀλλοίη δὲ δίκη καὶ θέσμια τοῖσι τέτυκται ('different are their justice and customs', 2.1018), before telling us of their fondness for public sex and similar oddities. Just before this, the narrator has related information about the economic system of the Chalybes (2.1002–9), and the birth pains of the Tibareni (2.1011–14). His statement about the Amazons – οὐ γὰρ ὁμηγερέες μίαν ἂμ πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ γαῖαν | κεκριμέναι κατὰ φῦλα διάτριχα ναιετάασκον ('because they did not live assembled in a single city, but across the land, arranged into three tribes', 2.996–7) – has the flavour of a scholar's correction of a common misconception about Amazonian demography. The description of Colchian death customs at 3.200–8, hanging corpses from trees rather than burning or burying them, is hardly the best of omens for the Argonauts, but the narrator's observation that, because they bury their women, the air and earth have an equal portion, suggests he is as interested in the peculiarities of the practice as in the effect it might have on Jason.[18]

The *Argonautica* depicts the myth of the Argonauts itself and the events within it as though they are the product of scholarly research. In the Catalogue, for example, we meet several 'they say' statements which indicate that the narrator is relying on sources, from which he is building and selecting, for the material of his song:[19] '*they say* that Orpheus bewitched the unyielding rocks with the sound of his songs' (1.26–7),

[16] For further examples see Fusillo 1985: 116–36 and his categorisation of Apollonian aetia, and also Goldhill 1991a: 321–33, Valverde Sánchez 1989.

[17] They get progressively more 'different' from the Greeks as the Argonauts venture further from their homeland – cf. Stephens 2003: 175–6.

[18] Further ethnography at: 1.1058–61 – customary funeral games for Cyzicus; 1.1075–7 – meal-grinding for sacrificial cakes at common mill in Cyzicus; 1.1138–9 – Phrygians worship Rhea with tambourine and drum; 1.1354–7 – Cians still search for Hylas; 2.507 – Haemonians call Aristaeus Nomius and Agreus; 2.526–7 – Ceans offer sacrifices before rising of Dogstar; 2.1174–6 – Amazon worship with horse sacrifice; 4.319–22 – Scythian etc. ignorance of ships; 4.477–9 – the proper way to expiate treacherous murders; 4.1210ff. – settling of Colchians among Phaeacians, subsequent movements; 4.1720–30 – abusive rites of Apollo Aegletes on Anaphe; 4.1770–2 – custom of water-carrying race on Aegina. Much of the material here probably builds on the work of Apollonius' approximate contemporary Nymphodorus of Amphipolis, who wrote a work *On Non-Greek Customs* (*RE* XVII.1623–5, Fusillo 1985: 180 n. 18), as did Callimachus. But it is used in the *Argonautica* as part of the creation of the scholarly persona of the narrator.

[19] Cf. Hunter 1993a: 106, 127.

'*singers relate* [κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί] that Caeneus, still alive then, was killed by the Centaurs' (1.59–60), 'nor do we learn [πευθόμεθ᾽] that mighty-hearted Heracles slighted Jason's summons' (1.122–3), 'we know [ἴδμεν] that Lernus was the son of Proetus, Nauplius' son' (1.135–6).[20] The sources which the narrator draws attention to here are not presented as written, as Cuypers has noted, but as part of the orally related traditions of song and popular legend. But the assumption that they would at least include written sources outside this generic epic fiction of orality is one which the reader naturally makes.[21] The scholarly narrator reminds the reader of the scholarly author, whose world is a thoroughly literate one.

Two more turns of phrase also contribute to the creation of the scholarly persona of the narrator – the particle που ('no doubt', 'I suppose', and the similar use of ποθι, in this sense 'probably', 'I suppose') and the rider εἰ ἐτεόν γε πέλει κλέος ('if indeed the story is true') at 1.154. The latter comes in the Catalogue of Argonauts, with reference to Lynceus' ability to see even under the earth. There are various possible functions for this phrase: indication of hyperbole, voicing of a poetic disclaimer disavowing responsibility, expression of incredulity, underlining of a supernatural characteristic, drawing attention to a mythological variation.[22] Whatever its precise force, given its position in the Catalogue, alongside several other markers of the scholarly persona, it seems the sort of remark a scholar might make about a striking 'fact' uncovered in his researches. The realisation that it plays its part in figuring the narrator as a scholar means we need not read it as authorial scepticism about the truth of the myth. It points us instead to the critical approach Apollonius portrays his narrator as having towards the sources and previous accounts from which he constructs his narrative.

The narrator's use of the particle που produces a similar effect.[23] According to Denniston the particle conveys 'a feeling of uncertainty in the speaker. Hence, further, που is used ironically, with assumed diffidence, by a speaker who is quite sure of his ground',[24] while Hunter comments that 'A. frequently distances himself from his narrative in this way [*sc.* by using που and other devices], as though he were reporting events of which he himself was not the author and for whose veracity he

[20] See Vian 1974–81: I.246 and Hunter 1993a: 106 n. 25 for the 'genealogical fiddling' (Hunter) which is concealed by such expressions. This does not invalidate their use as part of the characterisation of the scholarly narrator.

[21] See Cuypers 2004: 49–51. [22] So Stinton 1976: 63.

[23] See also Cuypers 2004: 51 on this particle in Apollonius. [24] Denniston 1954: 490–1.

takes no responsibility'.[25] But the main narratorial use in the *Argonautica* seems rather to give the impression of someone making an inference from existing information.[26] In particular, the primary narrator often uses it in deductions about the motivations, thoughts or feelings of the protagonists. At 1.633–7, for example, we read, after the narrator has told us of the Thracian threat to the Lemnian women:

> τῶ καὶ ὅτ' ἐγγύθι νήσου ἐρεσσομένην ἴδον Ἀργώ,
> αὐτίκα πασσυδίῃ πυλέων ἔκτοσθε Μυρίνης
> δήια τεύχεα δῦσαι ἐς αἰγιαλὸν προχέοντο,
> Θυάσιν ὠμοβόροις ἴκελαι· φὰν γάρ που ἱκάνειν
> Θρήικας·
>
> Therefore when near the island they saw the Argo being rowed,
> at once in a mass out of the gates of Myrine
> they poured, wearing dreadful armour, onto the strand,
> resembling Thyades who eat raw flesh. Because *no doubt* they thought
> the Thracians had come.

The implication is that the narrator has sources for the Thracian threat, the Lemnian women's rushing out to meet the Argonauts etc., but does not have an *explicit* account of the motivation behind their armed greeting.[27] This inferential use of που by the narrator, in most cases of the motivation or thought of characters (including gods), is also present at: 1.996 (inference that the Earthborn were nurtured by Hera as a trial for Heracles), 1.1023 (inference that the Doliones imagined the Macrians had landed), 1.1037 (inference that Cyzicus believed he was beyond danger), 1.1140 (inference that Rhea inclined her heart to pious sacrifices), 2.607 (inference that the Argonauts breathed more easily having come through the Clashing Rocks), 3.926 (inference that Mopsus could see how the meeting of Jason and Medea would end), 4.557 (inference about Zeus' reaction (anger) to Apsyrtus' murder), 4.1457 (inference about the Argonauts' happy words to

[25] Hunter 1989: 199. Cf. Hunter 1993a: 108 for a similar view of που used 'for a kind of documentary verisimilitude: the poet is not inventing the facts of his story, but interpreting material for which he is not really responsible'. Feeney 1991: 65 n. 23 quotes as applicable to Apollonius Denniston on Herodotus' use of the particle: 'Herodotus is fond of divesting himself of the historian's omniscience, and assuming a winning fallibility' (Denniston 1954: 491 n. 1).

[26] Cf. p. 124 above on the inferential use of που at Call. *H.* 2.3 (though this does not portray the narrator there as 'scholarly').

[27] The 'existence' of these sources is implied by the text, but because we are dealing here with the characterisation of the narrator, rather than the researches carried out by the real author, it does not follow that we ought to be able to point to the narrator's sources, or tease out his favourite historians.

each other after discovering water).[28] There is a very similar use of ποθι ('probably') at 4.319,[29] where the narrator deduces the reason for the reaction of the shepherds on the north-west coast of the Black Sea, who abandoned their flocks νηῶν φόβῳ ('out of fright at the ships', v. 317):

> οὐ γάρ πω ἁλίας γε πάρος ποθὶ νῆας ἴδοντο,
> οὔτ᾽ οὖν Θρήιξι μιγάδες Σκύθαι, οὐδὲ Σίγυννοι
>
> because they had probably never yet seen ships of the sea before,
> not the Scythians mixed with Thracians, not the Sigynni. (4.319–20)

At 3.225 ποθι is also used, though not of the motivation or thought of a character, in the description of the four perennial fountains in the palace of Aeetes:

> καί ῥ᾽ ἡ μὲν ἀναβλύεσκε γάλακτι,
> ἡ δ᾽ οἴνῳ, τριτάτη δὲ θυώδει νᾶεν ἀλοιφῇ·
> ἡ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὕδωρ προίεσκε, τὸ μέν ποθι δυομένῃσι
> θέρμετο Πληιάδεσσιν
>
> . . . and one gushed with milk,
> another with wine and the third ran with perfumed oil.
> And the other poured out water, which probably warmed up
> when the Pleiads set. (3.223–6)

Here again the fact that the scholarly narrator attaches ποθι to the detail of the warming of the springs at night is a sign that we should infer that he has sources on which he draws for his narrative. It is not a profession of authorial scepticism or uncertainty.[30] We are to think that there may be a gap in previous accounts on the character of this fourth stream of water, the particle pointing us to the scholarly inference the narrator makes about its nature, by adducing data from elsewhere. As Hunter points out, there may be an allusion to 'the spring of Helios' in North Africa (given Aeetes' ancestry), which is described at Hdt. 4.181, and which moved between coldness like ice at noon and a midnight boiling heat.[31] 'Well,' says the narrator, 'there is silence on this fourth spring, but given the behaviour of

[28] The particle is also used by the narrator in similes at 1.537, 3.758, 3.1283, 3.1399. In general the use of που in the similes gives them a contingency or openness which is not found in Homer, where similes are more straightforwardly offered as comparisons for what is being described. See Hunter 1993a: 109 and 130–1 for the problems of similarity and difference thus uncovered.

[29] Also used inferentially (and as a marker of a scholarly narrator) at Call. *H.* 1.38. For cases where ποθι is used in a different local sense ('somewhere') in Apollonius and other Hellenistic poets see Campbell 1994: 207.

[30] See however, Campbell 1994: 207. [31] Hunter 1989: 122–3.

the "spring of Helios", we can assume it gets hot at night.' The narrator marks this inference with ποθι – 'probably', 'I suppose'.

This use of που is a device for characterising, and hence foregrounding, the narrator. It points us to the controlling and organising force behind the narrative, but this is primarily the narrator (rather than the 'poet'),[32] who approaches his sources with a careful and critical eye, and makes measured conclusions about the motivation of the characters in his epic.

The human, scholarly narrator whom Apollonius constructs in this way is very different from the omniscient Homeric narrator. As Richardson points out, the narrators of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* display three kinds of omniscience or privileged knowledge: that of events/facts which the characters could not know about, an ability to see into the characters' minds and foreknowledge of the future.[33] Now, of course, Apollonius' narrator does display these types of knowledge to a degree – he knows about the intrigue on Olympus and the intervention of Eros at the beginning of book 3, of which his characters know nothing, he can tell that Jason is regularly plunged into despair and ἀμηχανίη ('helplessness'), and he knows of the fate of the descendants of Euphemus (4.1757–64) even though τὰ μὲν μετόπιν γένετ' Εὐφήμοιο ('these things happened a long time after Euphemus', v. 1764). But the first half of the *Argonautica*, at least, portrays such knowledge as the result of the narrator's researches. He does not have *universal* access to the events of the story (in the narratological sense) or to the workings of the minds of his characters, because Apollonius depicts him as constructing his narrative from previous versions and information about the past.[34]

This difference from Homer is closely related to the difference in the relationship of the narrator to the Muses. In Homer, the narrator is wholly dependent on the Muses for his knowledge of the events of the story, but the pay-off for this subordination is omniscience (cf. *Il.* 2.485–6). He does not have to make inferences about the motivation of his characters in the manner of the Apollonian narrator, because he has privileged knowledge of

[32] Cf. Hunter 1993a: 108: use of που 'advertises the poet's own role'.

[33] Richardson 1990: 124. Examples of the three types of knowledge in Homer, respectively: the narrator knows exactly the wounds warriors receive, the progress of weapons through the body (e.g. *Il.* 5.65–8); he displays knowledge of characters' private thoughts at, e.g., *Il.* 10.372, 5.166–8 (verbalising their intention/giving reason for action); the narrator anticipates future events in the story at, e.g., *Il.* 12.173–4 (Hector will break through the wall) and events after it at, e.g., 12.8–35 (Poseidon and Apollo will destroy the wall of the Greeks). See Richardson 1990: 125–39.

[34] Though we still get examples of what Wray has called narratorial 'bad faith' where the narrator plays with possibilities which his own narrative itself shows to be impossible, e.g. the Argonauts' death and hence their leaving no trace (e.g. 4.1305–7). See Wray 2000: 253–5.

the workings of their minds. Apollonius, however, portrays the relationship, initially at least, as very different – much more equal and allowing the narrator to rely as much, if not more, on sources (including, at least by implication, written ones) and previous tradition as on the Muses. I explore this topic more fully below, but the change from Homeric omniscience to Apollonian research strongly suggests that we must modify Beye's view that the narrator occasionally appears omniscient.[35] Inferences such as that at 4.557 about Zeus' anger at the murder of Apsyrtus reveal that there is no universal omniscient access on the narrator's part to the sphere of the gods. Those passages, cited by Beye, that do display privileged knowledge of the gods, such as 4.1198–1200 (nymphs singing and dancing in honour of Hera) or 4.1706 (the appearance of Apollo Aegletes), we should interpret as verifiable by the narrator's implied sources. The implication is that he has good evidence for such statements, while evidence which is in some way incomplete he feels it necessary to mark with an inference using που or ποθι.[36]

One final aspect of the scholarly narrator of the *Argonautica* which deserves comment is the common 'exegesis' of Homeric and other poetical works which the narrative appears to contain. The *Argonautica* often appears to allude to controversial Homeric passages, e.g. at 3.113–14:

εἴ μιν ἐφεύροι.
εὗρε δὲ τόν γ' ἀπάνευθε Διὸς θαλερῇ ἐν ἀλωῇ

. . . to find him.
And she found him far away in Zeus' blooming garden.

This appears to reflect a controversy over *Il.* 4.88–9 εἴ που ἐφεύροι.| εὗρε . . . ('to find him somewhere. She found . . .'), where Zenodotus (according to Σ A to *Il.* 4.88) wrote εὗρε δὲ τόνδε ('she found him') at the end of v. 88, omitting v. 89.[37] Though there is some debate as to the validity of individual cases, where it is difficult to be sure that a controversy dates back to the time of Apollonius, it is clear that there are many such allusions in the *Argonautica*.[38] There are also cases of Pindaric 'exegesis' – the description of Jason at 3.1282–3 (ἄλλα μὲν Ἄρει | εἴκελος, ἄλλα δέ

[35] See Beye 1982: 19.

[36] Though it is true, as Chris Carey reminds me, that it would be tedious to mark every narratorial surmise constantly through the epic – what we find is the impression that such surmises are regularly marked in this way.

[37] Cf. Hunter 1989: 109.

[38] In general on this topic and the problems associated with dating controversies in the scholia to the early Hellenistic period see Rengakos 1994.

που χρυσαόρῳ Ἀπόλλωνι, 'in some ways he resembled Ares, but in some ways also Apollo with his golden sword') appears to reflect *P.* 4.87–8, where Jason is compared to Apollo and χαλκάρματος ... πόσις Ἀφροδίτας ('Aphrodite's husband with his bronze chariot'). Given that one could interpret the latter as Hephaestus as well as Ares, this may allude to controversy about the meaning of the Pindaric comparison.[39]

What is important for our purposes is the role of the narrator in this 'exegesis'. Above we saw that in Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, for example, we had to attribute such scholarship to the implied author, rather than the narrator, because of the wider characterisation of the narrator. Here, however, we are in a situation more akin to that in the *Aetia*. Because of the mass of scholarly information displayed by the narrator in the *Argonautica*, and the impression given that he is constructing his narrative from several sources, we should take allusions to controversial passages of Homer and other poets as part of the portrayal of the narrator as a scholar. What is more, such allusions to debates about the text of Homer flag the narrator (and author) as engaged on a fundamentally literate project, whatever the fiction of oral communication which the epic maintains at the surface.

This in turn points us to the debt the Apollonian narrator owes the Callimachean narrator of the *Aetia*. Though several features of the *Argonautica* recall Callimachus' *Hymns* (e.g. the hymnal opening and closing),[40] the portrayal of a scholar constructing a narrative from existing sources recalls the position of 'Callimachus' in *Aetia* 1–2, deriving information most obviously from the Muses, but also recalling conversations such as that with Theogenes, the Ician guest, of whom he asked: 'The Myrmidons' prince, Peleus, why is it your ancestral custom to worship him?' (fr. 178.23 Pf.). The type of scholarship on display in the *Aetia* and the *Argonautica* is also similar – aetia (of course), in particular of rituals, customs, monuments and names (see above). There are other obvious similarities, not least in the intrusive, largely autonomous, narrator of both works. But the narrator of the *Argonautica* undergoes a development unparalleled in Callimachus (even allowing for the differences between *Aetia* 1–2 and 3–4).

A MORALIST

Despite the absence of biographical facts about the narrator, the audience of the *Argonautica* forms a picture of the narrator as being closely involved

[39] Cf. Hunter 1989: 241. [40] Cf. Hunter 1993a: 116.

with his narrative, commenting upon the action and reacting emotionally to it.[41] This forms an important element in the visibility of the Apollonian narrator, and demonstrates the clear use of Archaic moralising and emotional narrators.

There is a limited amount of judgemental commentary by the narrator in Homer, and the comments we find there are sparing in the direct expression of emotion on the part of the narrator. *Gnomai* are usually restricted to the speech of characters, and where the primary narrator makes them they usually appear in the third person (e.g. *Il.* 16.688–90). In the *Argonautica*, in contrast, the narrator often speaks such *gnomai* in the first person,[42] which characterises them as his personal response to the events of the narrative, and figures him as a complex moral personality. When describing the speed with which Athena comes to the aid of the Argonauts about to pass through the Symplegades, the narrator compares the speed of a traveller's thoughts of home, and adds a comment about travelling with a heavy heart:[43]

> ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε τις πάτρηθεν ἀλώμενος, οἷά τε πολλὰ
> πλαζόμεθ᾽ ἄνθρωποι τετληότες, οὐδέ τις αἶα
> τηλουρός, πᾶσαι δὲ κατόψιοι εἰσι κέλευθοι
>
> as when one wanders from his homeland, as often
> we men wander, patient, and no land is
> far away, but all paths are in view. (2.541–3)

The rather pessimistic tone of this comment is also in evidence at 4.1165–7, where the narrator remarks, after explaining that Jason and Medea wanted to marry in Thessaly, not Phaeacia:

> ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔ ποτε φῦλα δυηπαθέων ἀνθρώπων
> τερπωλῆς ἐπέβημεν ὅλῳ ποδί· σὺν δέ τις αἰεὶ
> πικρὴ παρμέμβλωκεν εὐφροσύνῃσιν ἀνίη
>
> but because never do we tribes of hard-suffering men
> embark on pleasure completely: some bitter pain always
> accompanies our happiness.

[41] See in general Cuypers 2004: 49–53, who draws attention, for example, to the rather Herodotean character of some of the Argonautic narrator's omissions on the basis of religious propriety, on which cf. also below.

[42] See Hunter 1993a: 106.

[43] See Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 101–4 on the effect of these connections between the epic narrative and 'our' common experience, which in this case 'turns every reader into an Odysseus': A.R. 2.541ff. recall the beginning of the *Od.*, but 'personalise' it through the use of first-person plurals which make Odysseus' wandering directly applicable both to the primary narrator and his audience.

These remarks form a distinct shift away from the much less emotionally involved Homeric narrator. In particular, they are reminiscent of Archaic narrators in Pindar and Hesiod.[44] The explicit connection which the narrator makes in the first person to his own situation recalls the Hesiodic narrator's wish not to have lived in the Iron Age at *Op.* 174–6 and Pindaric statements such as that at *N.* 8.35–6, which records the narrator's reaction to the unjust winning of Achilles' arms by Odysseus:

> εἴη μή ποτέ μοι τοιοῦτον ἦθος, Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀλλὰ κελεύθοις
> ἁπλόαις ζωᾶς ἐφαπτοίμαν
>
> May I not have such a character ever,
> father Zeus, but pursue life's open paths. (*N.* 8.35–6)

When Apollonius' narrator is moved to offer a judgement on the morality or propriety of a myth or character, we are again reminded in particular of the strongly characterised 'moral authority' of Pindaric epinicians. Even the narrator's remark in the Catalogue concerning Meleager recalls similar assessments of a character's ability or worth in Pindar:

> τοῦ δ᾽ οὔτιν᾽ ὑπέρτερον ἄλλον ὀίω,
> νόσφιν γ᾽ Ἡρακλῆος, ἐπελθέμεν, εἴ κ᾽ ἔτι μοῦνον
> αὖθι μένων λυκάβαντα μετετράφη Αἰτωλοῖσιν.
>
> No other greater than he would have come, I think,
> except Heracles, if for one more year he'd stayed
> maturing among the Aetolians. (A.R. 1.196–8)

Pindar uses the first person to express his opinion about the extent of Odysseus' suffering at *N.* 7.20–1:

> ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον᾽ ἔλπομαι
> λόγον Ὀδυσσέος ἢ πάθαν διὰ τὸν ἁδυεπῆ γενέσθ᾽ Ὅμηρον
>
> I think greater is
> the legend of Odysseus than his suffering through sweet-speaking Homer.

Apollonius also takes up the Pindaric concern for the propriety of tales, in order to characterise his narrator as morally engaged with his narrative.[45] His refusal to tell of the rites the Argonauts performed on Samothrace in book 1 recalls Pindaric silences such as that on fate of Bellerophon in *Olympian* 13:

[44] Cf. Hunter 1993a: 111, 116. [45] Also apparent at 2.844–5, 4.984–5 and 4.1510–12.

τῶν μὲν ἔτ᾽ οὐ προτέρω μυθήσομαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ
νῆσος ὁμῶς κεχάροιτο καὶ οἳ λάχον ὄργια κεῖνα
δαίμονες ἐνναέται, τὰ μὲν οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν ἀείδειν.

Of those things I shall tell no more – may the island herself
fare well and also the gods living there who receive
those rites of which it is not right for me to sing; (A.R. 1.919–21)

διασωπάσομαί οἱ μόρον ἐγώ

I shall remain silent about his fate. (Pi. *O.* 13.91)

In both cases the pious avoidance of a narrative is expressed by first-person verbs as very much the narrator's own reaction based on the moral propriety of telling the narrative. The emphatic first-person beginning at A.R. 4.249 similarly recalls Pindaric moralising first persons, though Apollonius is exploiting his model here as part of the portrayal of the ongoing parallel narrative about the narrator's diminishing confidence in his own abilities to tell the story of the Argonauts (see below):

μήτ᾽ ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνειεν ἀείδειν –
ἄζομαι αὐδῆσαι·

May my heart not urge me to sing of that.
I shrink from telling. (A.R. 4.249–50)

Here ἄζομαι αὐδῆσαι ('I shrink from telling') recalls Pindaric statements such as ἀφίσταμαι ('I stand aside', *O.* 1.52) and in particular *N.* 5.14–16, in meaning, function and form:

αἰδέομαι μέγα εἰπεῖν ἐν δίκᾳ τε μὴ κεκινδυνευμένον,
πῶς δὴ λίπον εὐκλέα νᾶσον, καὶ τίς ἄνδρας ἀλκίμους
δαίμων ἀπ᾽ Οἰνώνας ἔλασεν. στάσομαι·

I am ashamed of telling of a great act unjustly attempted,
how in fact they left the famous isle, and which god drove
the mighty men from Oenona. I shall halt.

As Pindar 'is ashamed' (αἰδέομαι) to tell (εἰπεῖν), Apollonius' narrator 'shrinks from' (ἄζομαι) telling (αὐδῆσαι) – both again using an emphatic first-person verb at the beginning of a line. Pindar will not tell of the murder of Phocus, Apollonius of the rites Medea performed for Hecate.

Pindar seems the clearest model for Apollonius' moralising first-person narration, as he is for Callimachus' experimentation with a moralist

narrator in the *Aetia*.[46] The *Argonautica* reproduces and closely parallels Pindaric pious and explicit silences in terms of structure and purpose. There is good prima facie evidence for Pindar as a model for Apollonius, as the writer of an *Argonautica* himself (*Pythian* 4), of which there are significant echoes at the beginning of the epic (cf. A.R. 1.*init.* with *P.* 4.68–72).[47] But it is also clear that Pindar himself was building on other Archaic poets, e.g. Hesiod, Alcaeus and possibly Simonides.[48] While the evidence is most complete for the Pindaric moralising narrator, we should bear other potential models in mind.[49]

One such neglected model is Bacchylides. The emphasis on the pathetic nature of narratives and the narrator's sympathy for them is clear in Bacchylides, in marked contrast to Pindar's evaluation of myth.[50] Alongside the adoption of Pindaric moralising, we find in Apollonius the exploitation of emotional exclamation such as that found in Bacchylides. Some Apollonian exclamations have clear Homeric parallels, such as those with νήπιος ('fool').[51] Even in this kind of explanation, however, we find a more emotional tone than in Homer. At A.R. 2.137 the Bebrycians are called νήπιοι ('fools') because they do not know of the πῆμ᾽ ἀίδηλον ('unseen calamity', 2.138) which is befalling them – both πῆμα and ἀίδηλος are predominantly speech-words in Homer. The Apollonian narrator also employs exclamations with σχέτλιος ('wretched'), which are normally confined to characters' speech in Homer. Some can approach the parodic, as in the description as σχέτλιος (1.1028) of the king of the Mossynoeci who suffers only a temporary incarceration for poor judicial decisions.[52] Others are more emotional and more sympathetic, e.g. the Boreads as σχέτλιοι (A.R. 1.1302) on account of the στυγερὴ τίσις ('hateful payment', 1.1302) which Heracles will exact for the χαλεποῖσιν . . . ἔπεσσι ('harsh words', 1.1301) with which they attack Telamon.

[46] See pp. 192–5 above.

[47] See Hunter 1993a: 123–5. There is perhaps also another echo of *Pythian* 4 in the description of the Argonauts at A.R. 1.1 as παλαιγενέων . . . φωτῶν ('men born long ago'), as in Pindar Medea addresses them at the beginning of her embedded narrative as παῖδες ὑπερθύμων τε φωτῶν καὶ θεῶν ('sons of noble-spirited men and gods', *P.* 4.13). The situation of the epinician poet is, in any case, recalled by the Apollonian narrator's declaration that he will recall κλέα φωτῶν ('the glories of men').

[48] Cf. pp. 96–8 above. [49] E.g. Herodotus, as Cuypers 2004: 49 suggests.

[50] See pp. 100–2 above.

[51] E.g. A.R. 2.66 on the attendants of Amycus; cf. *Il.* 2.37–8 on Agamemnon – both subjects being ignorant of the true future.

[52] Cf. Hunter 1993a: 108.

Narratorial sympathy for the pathetic situation of his characters, and the parallel with Bacchylidean exclamation, are particularly clear in the following examples:

> ὦ μέλεαι, ζήλοιό τ' ἐπισμυγερῶς ἀκόρητοι
>
> o unhappy women, sadly unsated in jealousy; (A.R. 1.616)

> ἤδη καὶ δεσμοὺς ἀνελύετο φωριαμοῖο,
> ἐξελέειν μεμαυῖα, δυσάμμορος
>
> And now she was undoing the ties of the chest,
> eager to take them out, wretched girl. (A.R. 3.808–9)

The latter passage describes Medea considering suicide by poisonous drugs. This is particularly reminiscent in terms of character, situation and vocabulary of the narrator's comment about Deianeira's plan to win back Heracles' love through a love-charm at B. 16.30 – ᾆ δύσμορος, ᾆ τάλ[αι]ν' οἷον ἐμήσατ[ο ('ah miserable one, ah wretched one, how she plotted!'). The exclamation at A.R. 1.616 describes the situation of the Lemnian women, who were driven to kill all Lemnian men after rejection by them. This too expresses the narrator's emotion in a manner which recalls Bacchylides. It also produces a more complex tone. As Hunter argues, it comes as part of the narrator's account of the Lemnian women (1.609ff.), which Apollonius juxtaposes with that which Hypsipyle gives to Jason (1.793ff.).[53] Hunter notes the more convincing emotional tone of Hypsipyle's narrative,[54] and calls the narrator's exclamation 'arch', expressing an 'ironic distance between the narrator and his tale'. This subversion of the narrator's emotional honesty through the retelling of his narrative by a character resembles the playing off of frame and inset in some Theocritean poems (e.g. *Idyll* 11).[55]

The effects produced by this exclamation, however, seem more complex still. While there may be a pun in 1.616 (ἀκόρητοι ~ ἀ-κόρη, 'un-womanly') suggesting the inappropriate behaviour of the Lemnian women,[56] the cry itself bemoans the same condition which afflicts Medea in Euripides' *Medea*. The Lemnian women of the *Argonautica* are ζήλοιο . . . ἀκόρητοι, 'unsated in jealousy', while the *Medea* portrays Medea as suffering from similar sexual jealousy. She would agree with Jason's plans for the future

[53] See Hunter 1993a: 112.
[54] Though of course it also contains lies – the men have not, as Hypsipyle claims, emigrated to Thrace.
[55] See pp. 261–2 above. [56] As Hunter 1993a: 112 n. 49 suggests.

εἴ σε μὴ κνίζοι λέχος ('if your bed didn't provoke you', *Medea* 568). She is like women in general:

> ἀλλ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἥκεθ᾽ ὥστ᾽ ὀρθουμένης
> εὐνῆς γυναῖκες πάντ᾽ ἔχειν νομίζετε,
> ἢν δ᾽ αὖ γένηται ξυμφορά τις ἐς λέχος,
> τὰ λῷστα καὶ κάλλιστα πολεμιώτατα
> τίθεσθε.
>
> But you women have got to such a point that
> if things in bed are good then you think all is well,
> but if there is some misfortune in your beds,
> the best and noblest things you think most hostile.
>
> (E. *Med.* 569–73)

The Lemnian women have suffered ξυμφορά τις ἐς λέχος ('some misfortune in their beds') – their abandonment in favour of Thracian slave-girls. But the Apollonian narrator's cry does not merely point to the parallel with Medea's future rejection by Jason. Jason himself speaks the words quoted above from the *Medea*. The narrator's description of the situation of the Lemnian women recalls Jason's own (future) view of Medea's behaviour. This further marks the narrator of the *Argonautica* out as a male, and as a male commenting on the behaviour of women, which further complicates the Bacchylidean 'sympathy' he expresses for the Lemnian women.

MOUSAI D' HYPOPHETORES

As in several Archaic poems, the relationship of the narrator to the Muses is a key one for understanding the nature of the 'personality' of the narrator and how this changes through the epic. The shifts in the Apollonian narrator's relationship to the Muses are clearest, perhaps, in the invocations in books 1, 3 and 4 of the *Argonautica*,[57] where the 'brash, "modern" self-confidence' of the opening of book 1 gives way to the speechless poet of the beginning of book 4,[58] unable to decide how to describe Medea's flight

[57] See Beye 1982: 15–17, Hunter 1987: 134, Hunter 1993a: 105, Feeney 1991: 90–2, Goldhill 1991a: 292–9. Many critics, however, treat the relationship as unified and constant (e.g. Fusillo 1985: 374), so that passages concerning the Muses from the end of the poem can elucidate the beginning of the epic – cf. Clauss 1993: 17–18 and Vian 1974–81: I.239 ad 1.22, who both think the Muses act as Apollonius' ὑποφήτορες (*hypophetores*) when he questions them in books 2, 3 and 4. Cf. also González 2000 for a similar assumption.

[58] Hunter 1993a: 105.

from Colchis, hence in need of assistance from the Muse.[59] But there is a linear development of the relationship throughout the epic (not just in the three invocations),[60] and it is inextricably linked to the use of various other intrusive techniques, these forming what amounts to another narrative running alongside that of the quest for the Golden Fleece – a picture of the narrator's progressive 'loss of confidence' in his own abilities to tell the story of the Argonauts.

To begin at the beginning:

> Ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν
> μνήσομαι, οἳ Πόντοιο κατὰ στόμα καὶ διὰ πέτρας
> Κυανέας βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνῃ Πελίαο
> χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργώ.
>
> Beginning with you, Phoebus, the glories of men born long ago
> I shall recall, who through the mouth of Pontus and through the
> Dark Rocks by the order of king Pelias
> launched the well-benched *Argo* after the Golden Fleece. (A.R. 1.1–4)

This is where we would expect the Muses to appear in an epic – there is an invocation to the Muse or Muses in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, in the Cyclic *Thebaid* and that of Antimachus, the Cyclic *Epigoni* and Choerilus' *Persica*.[61] But not in the *Argonautica*. Their place has been usurped by the first-person statement μνήσομαι ('I shall recall'), which recalls the openings of the *Homeric Hymns*.[62] We do find an address to Apollo here – Φοῖβε ('Phoebus') – but this is no straightforward replacement of one musical deity by another. The address to Apollo does not resemble the opening Muse invocations in Archaic epic, which are requests for information using the imperative.[63] Rather the impression is of a declaration of where the epic is to begin (with Apollo, or rather his prophecy – 'such was the oracle Pelias heard', v. 5). In this respect too the invocation resembles the *Homeric Hymns*, which state the divine subject of the hymn at the beginning of the poem, without invoking the deity for inspiration. But it is

[59] The 'modern self-confidence' of the Apollonian narrator at the start of the epic does *not*, as González 2000: 272 suggests, depend solely on interpreting the vexed word ὑποφήτορες at 1.22 as 'interpreters'. It is, in fact, all over the proem, e.g. the first word of the second line – 'I shall recall'. Cf. Clare 2002: 261–8, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 119.

[60] Goldhill 1991a: 292–3 comments that Paduano Faedo 1970 does not spot the complexity and development of the narrator–Muse relationship through the different invocations, but he does not himself tackle the development throughout the epic. See now Clare 2002: 268, who notes a constant redefinition of the role of the Muses through the *Argonautica*.

[61] Clauss 1993: 17 notes that of ancient Greek epics only the *Ilias Parva* (fr. 1 *EGF*) began without mentioning or alluding to the Muses.

[62] See pp. 116, 138 above. [63] Cf. Murray 1981: 90–1.

the marginalisation and delaying of the Muses which is particularly striking.

The verb the narrator uses – μνήσομαι – at the beginning of the epic is precisely that which the Homeric narrator uses of the Muses' activity – μνησαίαθ' ('recall', *Il.* 2.492).[64] This transfer underlines the suggestion that the relationship of Apollonius' narrator to the Muses is not the same as that in Archaic epic.

The Muses only appear after another bold first-person statement – νῦν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ γενεήν τε καὶ οὔνομα μυθησαίμην | ἡρώων ('but now I will tell of the family and names of the heroes', 1.20–1). They have been displaced from the beginning of the epic where we might expect them, and of them the narrator declares his wish, Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς ('may the Muses be the *hypophetores* of the song', 1.22).

The interpretation of this short wish is controversial, and that controversy long. But it is not an irrelevant disagreement. As we have seen, the Muses are an important means of articulating a narrator's autonomy/dependence and degree of omniscience, both in Archaic poetry and in Callimachus. So too in Apollonius. There are two main camps. The traditional interpretation is that ὑποφήτορες (*hypophetores*) means 'inspirers',[65] so that the Muses play in 1.22 the same role that they play in ancient literature in general, as the source of the poet's inspiration. This view was challenged by Gercke,[66] who saw a more assertive declaration of poetic independence – the Muses as the 'interpreters' of the poet. Several scholars have recently taken a similar position.[67] This view finds support in the lexica, as LSJ and now Montanari both suggest the translation 'interpreters' or 'ministre'. There have also been attempts at compromise between the two camps – Fusillo suggests 'collaboratrici' or 'collaborators' (alongside 'ministre' or 'priestesses'),[68] which allows the Muses a more positive role vis-à-vis the poet than that of subordinate 'interpreters', and Clauss characterises the interpreting Muses as Apollonius' research assistants, verifying the truth of the poet's narrative.[69]

[64] Cf. Feeney 1991: 90.

[65] See, e.g., Seaton 1888, Mooney 1912: 69, Gow 1952: II.311, 397–8; Ardizzoni 1967: 103, Vian 1974–81: I.239, Hunter 1993b: 3 (translation), Campbell 1994: 3.

[66] See Gercke 1889: 135–6, with dubious biographical hypotheses about Apollonius composing a palinode in 4.1381ff. after criticism of 1.22 by Callimachus and Theocritus. Cf. González 2000: 274.

[67] E.g. Paduano Faedo 1970: 377–82. Cf. also Paduano 1972: 95 n. 21, rather close to Gercke's biographising, Feeney 1991: 90, Goldhill 1991a: 292, and Hunter 1993a: 125, contrast his translation's (1993b) 'inspirers'.

[68] Cf. Fusillo 1985: 365–6.

[69] See Clauss 1993: 17–19. He compares the role of the Muses in the *Aetia* prologue and the proem of the *Phaenomena*, where Aratus states ἐμοί γε μὲν ἀστέρας εἰπεῖν | ᾗ θέμις εὐχομένῳ τεκμήρατε

The principal reason for the first position, *hypophetores* as 'inspirers', is that the alternative would entail a complete reversal of the normal poet–Muse relationship, where the poet is the conduit for the knowledge of the Muses to the audience (cf. Pi. fr. 150 S.–M. μαντεύεο, Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ᾽ ἐγώ, 'Muse, you prophesy and I shall interpret'; Theoc. *Idyll* 22.116–17 εἰπέ, θεά, σὺ γὰρ οἶσθα, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἑτέρων ὑποφήτης | φθέγξομαι, 'tell, goddess, because you know, and I shall speak as the interpreter for others'), at least where the subject matter is mythological.[70] Various critics deem this 'unacceptable': the Muses simply *cannot* be invoked except as 'inspirers'.[71] We should not dismiss this sort of critical unease without a second thought, but it cannot be decisive. There are also some parallels which are cited in support the 'inspirers' view: ps.-Manetho *Apotelesmatica* 2.295 and 3.326, to which should be added fr. 30.64 Heitsch, where Wilamowitz restored ὑποφήτορι Μούσηι, 'with the Muse to inspire him'.[72] But these parallels are problematic – the last is an uncertain supplement to a text from the fourth century AD, and in neither of the earlier (second century AD) ps.-Manetho passages does *hypophetores* mean 'inspirers'. Paduano Faedo points out that the meaning, in 2.295, at least, is closer to 'cause':[73]

> ναὶ μὴν καὶ Πυρόεις οἴκοις θοοῦ Ἑρμάωνος
> οὐλοὰ μηδομένους στέρνων ἔντοσθεν ἔθηκεν,
> ἄγριά τ᾽ ἐν πραπίσιν βουλεύματα ποικίλλοντας,
> πρὸς δὲ κακοφροσύνῃσιν ἀεὶ μερόπεσσι συνόντας,
> ὡς δὴ καί τ᾽ ἄλλοις ὑποφήτορας ἔμμεν ἀνιῶν·
>
> Truly Mars placed in the house of swift Hermes
> those who plan evil within their hearts,
> who elaborate savage plots in their minds,
> and who are always associating with men in wickedness,
> the inspirers of agonies in others too. (Ps.–Man. 2.291–5 [1.191–5 K.])

This seems to have developed from the 'intermediate' sense of ὑποφήτωρ/ὑποφήτης – taking from one and passing on to the other – highlighting

πᾶσαν ἀοιδήν ('as I pray guide all my song to tell of the stars as is right', vv. 17–18). But in Aratus the narrator is still subordinate to the Muses. Χαίροιτε δὲ Μοῦσαι ('hail, Muses') in v. 16 uses a 'deferential optative' suggesting 'the tone of a suppliant' (Kidd 1997: 173), and εὐχομένῳ in v. 18 indicates this is a prayer to the divine. This is very different from A.R. 1.22, which is not formally an invocation of the Muses.

[70] Cf. pp. 73–90 above. Alan Griffiths has also pointed out to me the similarity of Pl. *Symp*. 189d4, which may play off Empedocles: ἐγὼ οὖν πειράσομαι ὑμῖν εἰσηγήσασθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκαλοι ἔσεσθε, 'I shall try to relate its power to you, and you will be the teachers of others.'

[71] Cf. Ardizzoni 1967: 103, and also Campbell 1994: 3 on the 'absurdity' of the 'interpreters' view.

[72] See. Page 1942: 559. [73] See Paduano Faedo 1970: 381.

the latter aspect over the former in this different astrological context. The other parallel which scholars routinely adduce, 3.326, does not seem to be securely a parallel for 'inspirers' at all:

> οἱ δ᾽ ἄρα καὶ παίδων ἡγήτορες, ἐν σοφίῃ τε
> πολλὸν ἀριπρεπέες μύθων ὑποφήτορες ἐσθλῶν.
>
> And then there are educators of the young, in wisdom
> outstanding, interpreters of noble narratives. (3.325–6 [2.325–6 K.])

Are those who are 'in wisdom outstanding' the *inspirers* of good stories? Might they not be the *interpreters* of such stories for the παῖδες mentioned in v. 325? Gow himself is not sure – in his note to Theoc. *Idyll* 16.29 he confidently cites both ps.-Manetho examples as parallels for *hypophetores* as 'inspirers', but in his note to 22.116f. he writes, 'ὑποφήτορες [at *Arg*. 1.22], elsewhere usually equivalent to ὑποφῆται [i.e. 'interpreters'] (*AP* 14.1, *Maneth. 3.326* [my italics], *p.Ox*. 1015.1), seems to mean *inspirers* (cf. Maneth. 2.295, Mooney on Ap.Rh. 1.22)'. LSJ cite it in their note to ὑποφήτωρ = ὑποφήτης.

The parallels for the 'interpreters' view are more numerous and rather better. In the *Argonautica* itself ὑποφήτης, cognate of ὑποφήτωρ,[74] means 'interpreter' at 1.1311, as also in Apollonius' contemporary, Theocritus, at *Idylls* 16.29, 17.115 and 22.116–17, quoted above. At *AP* 14.1.9 we find the phrase Πιερίδων ὑποφήτορας, 'interpreters of the Muses', i.e. poets. In *P.Oxy*. 1015.1, a panegyric poem, one Theon is called the ὑποφήτορα παῖδα of Hermes, that is his 'interpreter'. This meaning also appears at Porphyry *De philosophia ex oraculis* 158.7 (= Eusebius *PE* 5.8.7) – θνητοῖς ἐσσομένων ὑποφήτορες ('interpreters for mortals of things to come').[75]

The 'interpreters' view also accounts better for the subordinate aspect of the term *hypophetores* indicated by the prefix ὑπο- (*hypo-*), as Paduano Faedo points out.[76] If the Muses occupy an intermediate position analogous to that of the poet in normal conceptions of the relationship, this makes good sense of ὑπο-, indicating a degree of dependence on the highest element in the hierarchy, in this case the narrator. But most versions of the view that ὑποφήτωρ means 'inspirer' fail to account for

[74] Seaton's suggestion (1888: 84) that ὑποφήτωρ at A.R. 1.22 is the 'correlative' of ὑποφήτης ('interpreter') is merely an assertion, unsupported by argument, as revealed by the limiting 'here', pointing out the arbitrariness of his view (Paduano Faedo 1970: 380).

[75] Clauss 1993: 17 n. 13, who notes the Porphyry/Eusebius example, also adds Nonnus, *Paraphrasis Sancti Evangelii Joannei* 5.157.

[76] Paduano Faedo 1970: 381.

this aspect – if the Muses are the inspirers of the poet, to whom are they ὑπο-?

Some more complex interpretations of *hypophetores* at A.R. 1.22 do take the prefix into account. Beye thinks that the Muses are playing a similar role vis-à-vis the poet as Apollo's priest vis-à-vis the garbled message he gives to the Pythia: 'Here Apollonius is Apollo; what he declares is the raw, divine truth; the Muses in effect will make it into art, and hence intelligible.'[77] Albis offers a very similar interpretation, but in his view the Muses interpret Apollo's oracular truth and turn it into poetry, thus providing verses for Apollonius, whom we should think of as a lower element in this hierarchy of inspiration.[78] He cites Plutarch's use of the terms ὑπολέγω ('prompt') and ὑποβολεύς ('prompter') to suggest ὑπο- can indicate support as well as subordination. Hence the Muses are *hypophetores* in the sense of 'interpreters' with reference to Apollo, 'inspirers' or 'prompters' in relation to Apollonius. But despite the superficial resemblance of the names of the god and the poet, and the allusion to the Delphic oracle at A.R. 1.5, there is no reason why we should see the ultimate source of inspiration at the beginning of the epic as Apollo, whether identified with the poet or not. The displacement of the Muses, the brevity of their mention in 1.22, the reticence about the role of Apollo should all prompt uncertainty about the precise workings or nature of the relationship to the Muses here.

Contemporary audiences and readers of the *Argonautica* may well have shared this uncertainty. The shift in position from the beginning of the poem may have been disconcerting in terms of epic norms,[79] and their relegation to the bare wish that they be the *hypophetores* of the ἀοιδή ('song') may not have made it obvious what the Muses' role was to be in the *Argonautica*. Whom/what exactly would they be interpreting (poet? poem? Apollo?), and to whom (poet? audience?)? Though the wish at A.R. 1.22 comes at the head of a catalogue, it does not resemble equivalent Homeric Muse invocations.[80] The fact that the Muses in epigram are closely associated with writing may only have complicated matters.[81] There is not much to guide the audience on how to take the wish that the Muses be

[77] Beye 1982: 15. Cf. Theon the ὑποφήτωρ of Hermes at *P.Oxy.* 1015.1 above.

[78] See Albis 1996: 20–1. Cf. also now González 2000 for another version of this tripartite schema: Apollo–Muses–Poet.

[79] Though we are of course hampered by the loss of much material. It would be particularly useful to have the first twenty lines of the *Hecale*. See pp. 286–8 above.

[80] So Fusillo 1985: 366. Cf. also Campbell 1983: 1, 'a mere scrap for the Muses at the head of a factual Catalogue'.

[81] Cf. Bing 1988: 15–16.

'interpreters'. This raises the further questions as to the mechanism and occasion of the Muses' interpretation – what interpretative work are the Muses doing for the audience, and when are they doing it?[82] What intermediary is there or need there be between the audience/reader and the *Argonautica*?

The iconographical evidence which Paduano Faedo cites suggests that the Muses might simply be the *audience* of the poem – any interpretative work presumably being for their own benefit.[83] The normal iconographical, as poetical, relationship is dominant Muse–subordinate poet, but in skyphos A of Berthouville Bernay we find the poet Aratus pictured as lecturing the Muse, taking on the stance, attitude, clothing and implements of the Muse in the mosaic of Monnus at Treviri, who is in a dominant position vis-à-vis a subordinate Aratus. This Heliconian audience is perhaps not entirely ridiculous, when we consider the most significant members of the real audience of the *Argonautica* – figures of importance in the Museum and Ptolemaic court. In the Hellenistic period one could describe poets and Ptolemies as Muses or in similar terms: in Callimachus, Berenice is a Fourth Grace at *Epigr*. 51 Pf. and acts in the *Victoria Berenices* as a quasi-Muse (*SH* 254.1ff.). Sappho as the Tenth Muse appears at *AP* 7.14, 7.407, 9.189, 9.506. Sex, of course, eases the identification in those cases, as it complicates it for Callimachus or Philadelphus.

A neglected passage of Catullus provides a parallel for A.R. 1.22 and suggests another, more attractive, possibility:

> sed dicam vobis, vos porro dicite multis
> milibus et facite haec charta loquatur anus
>
> But I shall speak to you, and you in turn will speak to many
> thousands and make this paper speak in its old age. (Cat. 68.45–6)

Here the Muses are almost the narrator's scribes (note *charta*), who will record and pass on Allius' help to Catullus.[84] Perhaps Apollonius intends something similar in 1.22 – the Muses as his 'intermediaries' as much as his 'interpreters', passing on his song to others. The Muses as emblems of the

[82] DeForest 1994: 40 n. 11 suggests: 'Apollonius may call on them as interpreters to assist the reader to understand his allusive and puzzling poetry' – but *when*?

[83] See Paduano Faedo 1970: 382–6.

[84] Cf. Ellis 1876: 326: 'The Muses are here the recorders of the poet, who dictates to them the verses in which the noble deeds of Allius are to be handed down to posterity.' Ellis, Fordyce 1961 and Syndikus 1990: 262–3 all note the reversal of the normal poet–Muse relationship (as exemplified by Call. *H*. 3.186 and Theoc. *Idyll* 22.116), though Fordyce and Syndikus dismiss A.R. 1.22 as a parallel.

written tradition again seem relevant in this connection.[85] The implicit dependence of the narrator on written sources, particularly clear in the Catalogue which follows immediately on 1.22, supports the idea that there Apollonius is strongly associating the Muses with recording the poem. In the Catullus passage, it seems that the Muses are engaged in the production of the written text. If something like this is also true of Apollonius, we can see a different meaning being given to the traditional view of the poem as the joint product of the poet and the Muses. In 1.23 we find a first-person plural, immediately after the wish in 1.22: μνησώμεθα ('let us recall'). Apollonius is characterising the Muses as contributing to the production of the narrative, but in a subsidiary 'technical' role, facilitating the creation of the text, rather than inspiring it, or supplying its content.[86] This is close to Fusillo's translation of ὑποφήτορες as 'collaboratrici'.[87]

The parallel from Catullus ought to disperse the unease that attaches to the reversal of the poet–Muse relationship which the 'interpreters' view, which seems broadly along the right lines, implies. But whatever the precise details of the relationship of narrator to Muses at the beginning of the epic, it is clearly different from that in previous poets, and the shift in the Muses' function within Apollonian epic should not escape us.[88] The positional marginalisation of the Muses, the narrator's first-person statements, the advertising of a reliance on previous versions mean the primary role of the narrator in the production of his narrative is very prominent here. The narrator is much more autonomous than his predecessors, and 'in control'.

THE APOLLONIAN NARRATOR IN CONTROL

When we look beyond the opening lines and the Catalogue, we can still see the confident, autonomous narrator in operation. This persona is

[85] Cf. Bing 1988: 15–20, Fusillo 1985: 370–4.

[86] Here too, however, Apollonius is reticent about the explicit manner of the Muses' contribution, and maintains the fiction of an oral communication situation in the epic.

[87] One of the anonymous readers for the Press suggests that another relevant parallel might be Pindar's Charites or Graces: in *O.* 14, for example, Pindar tells us that σὺν . . . ὑμῖν τά <τε> τερπνὰ καί | τὰ γλυκέ' ἄνεται πάντα βροτοῖς ('because it is through you that everything delightful and sweet is accomplished for mortals', vv. 5–6). The Graces play this facilitating role even for the gods: οὐδὲ γὰρ θεοὶ σεμνᾶν Χαρίτων ἄτερ | κοιρανέοντι χοροὺς οὔτε δαῖτας ('because without the holy Graces not even the gods arrange their dances or banquets', vv. 8–9). They are the πάντων ταμίαι | ἔργων ἐν οὐρανῷ ('stewards of every deed in heaven', vv. 9–10), which does not mean they are the authors of all deeds in heaven, but that they help to make them successful (cf. the Aeginetans as ταμίαι . . . Μοισᾶν at *I.* 9.7–8). Apollonius may be turning this Pindaric image of the Graces into a more 'technical' one for the Hellenistic period.

[88] As Livrea 1973: 389 points out.

particularly clear in three break-offs, which express the narrator's control of his material in a manner similar to those in Pindar and Callimachus (e.g. fr. 75.4ff. Pf.).[89] The first comes at 1.649–50:

ἀλλὰ τί μύθους
Αἰθαλίδεω χρειώ με διηνεκέως ἀγορεύειν;

But why
must I tell stories about Aethalides all the way through?

Thus the narrator moves from telling us of the herald Aethalides' powers and fate, and returns to his role in the main narrative.[90] The motivation for this break-off seems to be internal – no Muses are needed.[91] As we have seen above, at 1.919ff. the narrator uses the excuse of piety to break off telling the audience about the rites on Samothrace, τὰ μὲν οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν ἀείδειν ('of which it is not right for me to sing).[92] The narrator claims that θέμις ('right') forces him to avoid singing of the rites. This contributes to the creation of a moral persona, but also forms an expression of the narrator's ability to control the material he allows into his narrative.[93] Similarly, Callimachus' pious intervention in fr. 75.4ff. Pf. (σύ γ' ἀείσῃ καὶ τά περ οὐχ ὁσίη, 'you'd sing even of unlawful things') in fact subtly points to a myth not told, and the control he thus wields over his poem.[94] The Apollonian narrator expresses his through the first-person verb μυθήσομαι ('I shall tell', 1.919) and by the measured farewell (κεχάροιτο, 1.920) to Samothrace and its gods.[95]

The narrator appears to avoid impiety easily and without problems. This will not be the case later in the poem. The break-off at 1.1220 of a digression on Thiodamas, father of Hylas, to return to the narrative of the latter's disappearance, seems to express a similar unproblematic control:

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τηλοῦ κεν ἀποπλάγξειεν ἀοιδῆς.

But these things would lead far from the song.

[89] For Pindaric break-offs cf. pp. 68–9 above.

[90] But this is also a peculiar sort of break-off, and one which is meant to advertise the narrator's control even more than normal, as Clare 2002: 272 points out, because it portrays the comments on Aethalides as a digression (which they are not) and because the narrator has reached the logical end of those comments.

[91] This break-off is reminiscent of that at Hes. *Th.* 35.

[92] See pp. 68–70 above for 'pious' break-offs in Archaic poetry.

[93] See Clare 2002: 273–5 on the similarity of this 'pious' omission to those of Phineus in book 2.

[94] Cf. pp. 192–3 above.

[95] This recalls the ends of hymns, e.g. χαῖρε ('farewell') at *h.Herm.* 579, *h.Aphr.* 292. The farewell also marks the passage as strongly transitional, marking the move from Lemnos to Cyzicus.

This stress on the ἀοιδή ('song') and its proper arrangement keeps the focus firmly on the narrator. The control the narrator expresses is reminiscent of the Pindaric narrator's explicit control over the direction of his song, e.g. through imperatives to the Muses.[96] His importance, and the consequent sidelining of the Muses, are also apparent in the digression on Cyrene at 2.500ff. This is framed by two 'they say' statements:

> Κυρήνη πέφαταί τις ἔλος πάρα Πηνειοῖο . . .
>
> one Cyrene is said by the marshes of Peneius . . .; (2.500)
>
> καὶ τὰ μὲν ὥς ὑδέονται·
>
> And that is what they say. (2.528)

These, in common with those in the Catalogue, suggest that the source of the digression is not the Muses, but the narrator's own learning and knowledge of tradition.[97] And in this digression we meet the Muses again for the first time since 1.22 – at 2.511–12:

> τῷ καὶ ἀεξηθέντι θεαὶ γάμον ἐμνήστευσαν
> Μοῦσαι, ἀκεστορίην τε θεοπροπίας τ᾽ ἐδίδαξαν·
>
> And for him the Muses made a marriage when he had grown up,
> and taught him healing and prophecy.

But the narrator does not invoke the Muses or ask them for information here, rather they feature as characters in a digression. Juxtaposed with the framing 'they say' statements which appear to place the source of the digression elsewhere, there is a strong sense here that the Muses are not of central importance. They do not even appear as characters in the main Argonautic narrative, but as the teachers of Aristaeus, son of Apollo and Cyrene, which distances them still further. The Muses do not, however, remain so distant from the narrative of the Argonauts in book 4.

THE 'CRISIS' OF THE NARRATOR

The confident, autonomous, controlling persona begins to give way towards the end of book 2, after the death of Idmon, in connection with his worship:

[96] Cf. pp. 86–8 above.

[97] We connect this with *reading* other poets and historians, and although this is not stressed in the epic itself (which maintains an 'oralist' fiction – cf. Bruss 2004 on Callimachus), it is a reasonable deduction by the reader.

εἰ δέ με καὶ τὸ
χρειὼ ἀπηλεγέως Μουσέων ὕπο γηρύσασθαι,
τόνδε πολισσοῦχον διεπέφραδε Βοιωτοῖσι
Νισαίοισί τε Φοῖβος ἐπιρρήδην ἱλάεσθαι

If I must
speak of this openly with the Muses' help,
Phoebus explicitly told the Boeotians
and Nisaeans to worship him as protector of the city. (2.844–7)

For the first time in the epic the autonomy of the narrator appears in doubt. Not only is there mention of an external compulsion (με . . . | χρειώ, 'I must') to tell a narrative in full, this is also to be Μουσέων ὕπο, 'with the Muses' help'.[98] The narrator is for the first time subordinate to the Muses to some degree. The contrast with the autonomous narrator of earlier in the epic is more pointed because of the conditional – 'if I have to tell all this . . .' – as if the narrator is now unsure of what he should allow into his narrative (contrast the break-offs discussed above). When the narrator has finished telling us whom the Boeotians and Nisaeans in fact worship, we meet another disconcerting passage:

Τίς γὰρ δὴ θάνεν ἄλλος; ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔτ' αὖτις ἔχευαν
ἥρωες τότε τύμβον ἀποφθιμένου ἑτάροιο.
δοιὰ γὰρ οὖν κείνων ἔτι σήματα φαίνεται ἀνδρῶν.
Ἀγνιάδην Τῖφυν θανέειν φάτις·

So who else died? As once more the heroes poured
then a tomb over a dead companion.
And so there are two monuments for those men.
The story goes that Hagnias' son, Tiphys, died. (2.851–4)

The Muses first reappear in something like their traditional role in 2.844ff., and hot on their heels comes the first request by the narrator for information. But it is not clear whom he is addressing.[99] However, Homeric precedent for such questions without an explicit addressee would suggest these are questions to the *Muses*, as at *Il.* 5.703–4.[100] The Muses' presence

[98] Hunter 1993b: 55. Hutchinson 1988: 94, and Seaton 1912: 158, who translates 'at the bidding of the Muses', take Μουσέων ὕπο with χρειώ, so that the compulsion itself comes from the Muses.

[99] Zyroff 1971: 423–49 makes this a 'rhetorical question', that is without a strongly felt addressee (but she groups these generally under 'Apostrophes to the Reader'), while Paduano–Fusillo 1986: 333–5 take it as by the narrator to himself.

[100] So also Mooney 1912: 200. Minton 1960: 304 argues convincingly that the questions in Homer without a specified addressee are directed at the Muses, on the grounds that they are requests for information analogous to the explicit Muse invocations of the proems to both epics and *Il.* 2.484, 2.761–2, 11.218–20, 14.508–10, 16.112–13. The Muses then provide the answer for the narrator.

immediately before these lines as the 'guides' of the narrator increases the likelihood that they are being addressed. There then follows at 2.854 a 'they say' statement concerning Tiphys, helmsman of the *Argo*. Earlier in the epic, in the Catalogue and the digression on Cyrene, this type of statement appeared to indicate the narrator was deriving his information from his existing knowledge of tradition, that is (we surmise) from drier and more bookish sources than Mount Helicon. But here the effect is different: a disruption of the confident narrator of the early part of the *Argonautica*.[101] The narrator for the first time appeals for an explanation from the Muses, ultimately an aetion for the existence of a second tomb. Whereas in the *Aetia* such a request for aetiological knowledge was part of the characterisation of a scholarly narrator more on a par with the Muses, here the change from autonomous poet to questioner of the Muses indicates rather a subordination of the narrator. The fact that φάτις ('report', 'the story') provides the answer to the identity of the second dead Argonaut forms a further disruption of the narrator's earlier confident persona. This is the first time the narrator has attributed an event in the main Argonautic narrative in this way (he used previous 'they say' statements of the background to the Catalogue or digressions such as that on Cyrene).[102] This both suggests that the narrator cannot vouch for the death of Tiphys to the same degree as other events in the Argonautic narrative, and makes the audience wonder whether it was the Muses who were addressed in 2.851. If so, they seem not to have replied.

It is at this point, then, that the 'crisis' of the Apollonian narrator begins: this is the first of many passages which suggest that the narrator is progressively losing confidence in his own ability to tell his story. As such this forms one of the most striking transformations we find in Hellenistic poetry of Archaic (and Hellenistic) quasi-autobiography. In the *Argonautica* it is the narrator's very capacity for narrative (rather than his apparently extratextual 'life') which Apollonius makes the subject of a narrative alongside the main story of the Argonauts.

The primary narrator, then, ceases to be the unquestioned autonomous controller of his narrative, confidently including or excluding material as he sees fit, but becomes dependent on the Muses, unsure of some facts about his narrative. Part, at least, of the motivation for the disruption of the narratorial persona here at 2.844ff. is to reflect the crisis which the

[101] Cf. Hutchinson 1988: 93–4, who observes here a delicate play with the poet's role and his erudition which consequently 'breaks up an atmosphere'.

[102] Noted by Hutchinson 1988: 303.

Argonauts themselves undergo at this point. With Idmon and in particular Tiphys dead (ἄτλητον δ᾽ ὀλοῷ ἐπὶ πήματι κῆδος ἕλοντο, 'at the baneful pain they were stricken by unbearable woe', v. 858), they are thrown into despair (ἀμηχανίῃσιν ἁλὸς προπάροιθε πεσόντες, 'falling into helplessness by the sea', v. 860) and hopelessness:

> κατήμυσαν δ᾽ ἀχέεσσι
> θυμόν, ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὸν ἀπ᾽ ἐλπίδος ἔπλετο νόστος.
>
> Their hearts drooped in distress,
> since all hope of their return home had completely gone. (2.862–3)

This is the most desperate stage in the expedition so far – the Argonauts are on the point of giving up, even though it seems they cannot return to Greece. Jason himself is at a similarly low ebb, at 2.892–3 he fears that καταυτόθι δ᾽ ἄμμε καλύψει | ἀκλειῶς κακὸς οἶτος, ἐτώσια γηράσκοντας ('here an evil fate will hide us gloryless, growing old for nothing').[103] The narrator's discomfiture reflects the ἀμηχανίη ('helplessness') of his heroes.

At 2.1090–2 the narrator asks more questions, again without specifying their addressee:

> Τίς γὰρ δὴ Φινῆος ἔην νόος, ἐνθάδε κέλσαι
> ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον στόλον; ἦ καὶ ἔπειτα
> ποῖον ὄνειαρ ἔμελλεν ἐελδομένοισιν ἱκέσθαι;
>
> So what was Phineus' idea in landing the holy expedition
> of heroes here? And what sort of help would then
> come to them in their longing?

Here too there is argument about the addressee – Muses,[104] narrator himself,[105] 'rhetorical question'.[106] This uncertainty is perhaps intentional. Apollonius has raised the problem of the precise relationship of the narrator to the Muses and here we are unable to determine whether the narrator addresses himself, as we might have expected the confident autonomous narrator of the early part of the epic to do (recall the regular self-apostrophe in Pindar's epinicians, and those at Call. fr. 75.4 Pf., *H.* 4.1), or the Muses, in the Homeric manner.[107] In one sense the function of the questioning is clear, to mark a strong pause ahead of the important

[103] More narratorial 'bad faith' for Wray 2000 – the narrator's own narrative shows this is not the case.
[104] So Mooney 1912: 213. [105] So Paduano–Fusillo 1986: 359. [106] So Zyroff 1971: 424–5.
[107] A further possibility is that the narrator verbalises the audience's own thoughts: 'It is as if the author says, "These are the questions which you must be asking yourselves." ' (Zyroff 1971: 425).

episode of the island of Ares.[108] But it hardly clarifies the relationship of the poet to the Muses.

The beginning of book 3 again foregrounds this relationship in the invocation of Erato:

> Εἰ δ᾽ ἄγε νῦν, Ἐρατώ, παρά θ᾽ ἵστασο, καί μοι ἔνισπε,
> ἔνθεν ὅπως ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἀνήγαγε κῶας Ἰήσων
> Μηδείης ὑπ᾽ ἔρωτι. σὺ γὰρ καὶ Κύπριδος αἶσαν
> ἔμμορες, ἀδμῆτας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις
> παρθενικάς· τῶ καί τοι ἐπήρατον οὔνομ᾽ ἀνῆπται.
>
> Come now, Erato, stand next to me, and tell me,
> how Jason next brought back to Iolcus the Fleece
> through the love of Medea. For of the province of Cypris
> you have a share, and you charm unmarried maidens with love-cares.
> Hence you have a name of love. (3.1–5)

Part of the reason for the invocation of the Muse at this midpoint in the narrative is to mark a change of subject (to love as a principal theme). It also emphasises the importance of the second half of the epic, where the Argonauts complete their adventures. The invocation also appears to determine the relationship of poet and Muse as one of approximate equality – Erato is to 'stand beside' the poet.[109] This recalls Pindaric passages such as *O.* 3.4–5 and in particular the beginning of Pindar's Argonautic poem *Pythian* 4 (σάμερον μὲν χρή σε παρ᾽ ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ | στᾶμεν, 'today you must stand by a dear man', vv. 1–2),[110] where the Muse is similarly represented as standing beside the poet. But the imperative 'tell me', the first acknowledged request for information from the Muses, confirms what the end of book 2 had led us to suspect – the autonomous narrator of the first two books is no more. This invocation figures him as dependent on the Muses, in particular Erato, who has privileged knowledge, it seems, not only by being the Muse of love. The statement to Erato that 'you charm' unmarried girls with μελεδήματα ('love-cares') and that she shares in the power of Cypris surely suggests that she may have a hand in the infatuation of Medea, herself an unmarried girl.

This invocation appears, in fact, to have resolved the problem of the narrator's relationship to the Muses, which arose towards the end of book 2 – for the remainder of book 3 there is no further development of the

[108] So Paduano–Fusillo 1986: 359–61.
[109] 'The poet allots an "equal" role to his Muse', Hunter 1989: 95. Hunter thinks poet and Muse are being represented as standing rhapsodes.
[110] Cf. Hunter 1989: 96.

crisis, no indication of a further loss of confidence or autonomy. But the self-confidence of the narrator takes another blow at the beginning of book 4, and the decline in the narrator's independence and self-confidence continues apace from there. The narrator no longer seems engaged in a Pindaric partnership with the Muse as in book 3, but hands over narration entirely to her:

> αὐτὴ νῦν κάματόν γε, θεά, καὶ δήνεα κούρης
> Κολχίδος ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, Διὸς τέκος. ἦ γὰρ ἔμοιγε
> ἀμφασίῃ νόος ἔνδον ἑλίσσεται ὁρμαίνοντι,
> ἠέ μιν ἄτης πῆμα δυσίμερον ἦ τόγ' ἐνίσπω
> φύζαν ἀεικελίην ᾗ κάλλιπεν ἔθνεα Κόλχων.
>
> Now you yourself, goddess, of the toil and plans of the girl
> of Colchis tell, Muse, child of Zeus. For truly my
> mind spins inside me in speechlessness, pondering
> whether I should say it was love-tormented pain of infatuation or
> shameful flight by which she left the tribes of the Colchians. (4.1–5)

Apollonius is exploiting and transforming various models here. The doubling of θεά ('goddess', recalling *Il.* 1.1) and ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα ('tell, Muse', recalling *Od.* 1.1) alludes to the opening invocations of both Homeric epics. But the narrator here goes further than Homer – the Muse, presumably Erato, is to sing αὐτή, 'herself'.[111] The narrator in the *Argonautica* appears to subordinate himself further than even the Homeric narrator, who is inspired by the Muse to sing. The reason for this subordination (note the explanatory γάρ ('for') in v. 2) is the narrator's inability to decide how to describe Medea's leaving of Colchis, as 'love-tormented pain of infatuation' or 'shameful flight'. There is a parallel for this consideration of motivation in Pindar's *P.* 11:[112]

> πότερόν νιν ἄρ' Ἰφιγένειʼ ἐπ' Εὐρίπῳ
> σφαχθεῖσα τῆλε πάτρας ἔκνισεν βαρυπάλαμον ὄρσαι χόλον;
> ἢ ἑτέρῳ λέχει δαμαζομέναν
> ἔννυχοι πάραγον κοῖται;
>
> Was it Iphigeneia slaughtered at Euripus
> a long way from her home which stirred her to wake her heavy-handed rage?
> Or, mastered in another's bed,
> did nightly lovemaking lead her astray? (*P.* 11.22–5)

[111] Cf. Feeney 1991: 91. Albis, on the strength of the double allusion to the Homeric epics, calls the invocation in A.R. 4 the 'most Homeric' in Apollonius, despite the unusual αὐτή (1996: 93).

[112] Cf. Hunter 1987: 134.

In Pindar the force of these questions, which are probably another example of Pindaric self-apostrophe, is to highlight the dangers of power, without any strong sense that there is a conflict between the alternative explanations of Clytemnestra's behaviour.[113] But in the *Argonautica* the fact that the narrator is not sure of how to *describe* the main events of his narrative and the characters in it[114] marks a further decline in his powers. As Feeney observes, he is claiming that he can no longer account for the motivations of a character he created in the previous book.[115]

The words used to describe the narrator's uncertainty here recall descriptions of Medea in love. At 3.284 ἀμφασίη ('speechlessness'), which affects the narrator in 4.3, seizes Medea's soul, immediately after she has been shot by Eros, and at 3.452 the narrator uses the verb ὥρμαιν' ('pondered') of Medea in her newly infatuated state. Again, as in 2.844ff., the narrator seems affected by the behaviour and emotions of his characters.

The narrator's plea to Erato, however, does not seem to be answered, just as in 2.854 the mention of φάτις ('report') leads to doubts that the Muses heard the narrator's appeal in 2.851. The 'pious' break-off of the rites of Hecate at 4.247ff. makes it clear we are dealing with the same narrator, concerned with the propriety of his narrative, albeit with diminished powers and confidence:

> καὶ δὴ τὰ μέν, ὅσσα θυηλὴν
> κούρη πορσανέουσα τιτύσκετο – μήτε τις ἴστωρ
> εἴη, μήτ' ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνειεν ἀείδειν –
> ἄζομαι αὐδῆσαι·
>
> And the rest, which the maiden
> made ready as she offered the sacrifice – may no one know,
> may my heart not urge me to sing of that –
> I shrink from telling.

The restriction of access to knowledge of the rites obviously cannot apply to the divine Muses, so the speaker here must be the narrator of the previous three books.[116] The tone of this break-off, however, is markedly different to the examples in book 1, and emphasises the narrator's loss of control. The wish that his θυμός ('heart') not urge him to sing of the rites

[113] Cf. Young 1968: 12–15 on *P.* 11 extolling the virtues of the middle estate as opposed to tyranny.
[114] In contrast to the weakness and lack of knowledge pleaded by Homer at *Il.* 2.484–93, as Hunter 1987: 134 notes.
[115] See Feeney 1991: 91.
[116] Note also the address to the Muses at 4.552ff., the apology at 4.984ff. and the declaration of obedience to them at 4.1381, all of which would make little sense if spoken by Erato.

implies a lack of control of one's θυμός, one more reminiscent of the dangerous force portrayed in Euripidean tragedy than the externalised but controllable θυμός or καρδία ('heart') of Homer.[117] But the closest parallel for this reference to one's θυμός in a pious break-off is fr. 75.4ff. Pf. of the *Aetia*, where Callimachus dramatically portrays his narrator's control of narrative as well as of θυμός. In contrast to the mini-drama in Callimachus, the bare wish that one's θυμός not sing impiously of forbidden rites leaves it very much in the reader's/audience's mind that control of it is probably beyond the narrator.

The emphatic first-person statement ἄζομαι αὐδῆσαι ('I shrink from telling') at the beginning of v. 250 is modelled on such Pindaric first persons as ἀφίσταμαι ('I stand aside') or στάσομαι ('I shall halt') in similar contexts,[118] but here the stress is on the great awe that strikes the narrator from outside, rather than the narrator's own decision to remain silent. The great difference between the self-motivated and largely autonomous Pindaric narrator, in control of the material he includes and excludes, makes the subordination of the Apollonian narrator even more striking.

The question of the narrator's relationship to the Muses arises again at 4.445ff.:

> Σχέτλι᾽ Ἔρως, μέγα πῆμα, μέγα στύγος ἀνθρώποισιν,
> ἐκ σέθεν οὐλόμεναί τ᾽ ἔριδες στοναχαί τε πόνοι τε,
> ἄλγεα τ᾽ ἄλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἀπείρονα τετρήχασιν·
> δυσμενέων ἐπὶ παισὶ κορύσσεο, δαῖμον, ἀερθείς,
> οἷος Μηδείῃ στυγερὴν φρεσὶν ἔμβαλες ἄτην.
> πῶς γὰρ δὴ μετιόντα κακῷ ἐδάμασσεν ὀλέθρῳ
> Ἄψυρτον; τὸ γὰρ ἥμιν ἐπισχερὼ ἦεν ἀοιδῆς.
>
> Wretched Eros, great grief, great object of hate for men,
> by you destructive strife and groans and labours,
> and numberless other pains are stirred up in addition.
> Rise up, god, and arm yourself against my enemies' children
> as when you threw odious folly into Medea's mind.
> For how did she overcome Apsyrtus with deadly evil
> when he came to meet her? This is the next part of our song.

Though this outburst is against Eros, here explicitly the cause of Medea's erotic madness, it is difficult to separate him from the figure of Erato,[119] the

[117] See further Walsh 1990: 4–11. [118] Cf. pp. 98–9 above.
[119] Zyroff 1971: 50–1 takes it that the reader will assume this is as much a condemnation of Erato as of Eros.

Muse of Love, invoked at the beginning of books 3 and 4, and described in terms reminiscent of Eros as one sharing in Cypris' power and affecting unmarried girls (3.3–5). The question put to Eros at 4.450–1 on the means by which Apsyrtus was put to death, and the subsequent mention of the next stage in the song in v. 452, strongly suggest that Eros is playing a very similar role to the Muse of Love. But the substance of the outburst, the strife and lamentation which come from Eros/Erato, seems to indicate that the narrator, who invoked Erato in book 3 *because of* her special powers, is now uncomfortable with their effects. Nevertheless it is clear that the narrator needs Eros/Erato, as the plural ἧμιν ('our') in v. 452 indicates – the poem is their joint product.[120]

This dependence on the Muses is again prominent at 4.552ff., where the narrator asks several questions of the Muses (note the plural – is Erato by herself now not enough?) about the Argonauts reaching the Stoechades. Shortly after this statement of dependence on the Muses for the details of the Argonautic return there is the account of the Argonauts' entry into the Eridanus at 4.596ff., and the narrator's explanation of the amber in the river as the dried tears of the Heliades. But he then adds: Κελτοὶ δ᾽ ἐπὶ βάξιν ἔθεντο ('the Celts attach the tale', 4.611) and proceeds to offer an alternative aetion for the amber as the tears of Apollo. This, in contrast to earlier 'they say' statements characterising the narrator as learned, prompts questions about the confidence of the narrator in the Muses, who are presumably the source of the first aetion, given his dependence on them since the beginning of his loss of narratorial self-confidence. We should perhaps discern the possibility of tension or mistrust between narrator and Muses, first apparent in the outburst to Eros, in the portrayal of Orpheus defending the Argonauts against the temptations of the Sirens.

They are described as λίγειαι ('clear-voiced'), common epithet of the Muses,[121] in 4.892, they ἡδείῃσιν | θέλγουσαι μολπῇσιν ('charm with sweet songs', 4.893–4) and turn out to be the daughters of Τερψιχόρη, Μουσέων μία ('Terpsichore, one of the Muses', 4.896). In the *Odyssey* the Sirens speak like Hesiodic Muses – ἴδμεν γάρ τοι πάνθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ | . . . | ἴδμεν δ', ὅσσα γένηται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ ('because we know everything which [occurred] at broad Troy . . . we know everything which happens on the much-nourishing earth', 12.189–91) – compare the anaphora of ἴδμεν ('we know') at Hesiod *Th.* 27–8, probably an echo

[120] Cf. Zyroff 1971: 51.
[121] Cf. Alcman *PMGF* 14a.1, Stesichorus *PMGF* 240, 'Terpander' *PMG* 7, *h.Hom.* 17.1, 20.1 etc.

of these lines.[122] But Orpheus prevents disaster – he begins a song to fill the ears of the Argonauts, and triumphs with his lyre over the Sirens: παρθενίην δ᾽ ἐνοπὴν ἐβιήσατο φόρμιγξ (‘the lyre prevailed over the maiden voice’, 4.909). Might this triumph of the Homeric *phorminx* over the female song of relatives of the Muses not represent a transfer to the narrative of the problematic relationship of narrator to Muse?[123] Feeney suggests that the Herossae in 4.1305ff. form a similar transfer to the narrative of the narrator’s *dependence* on the Muses.[124] He suggests that they too speak like the Muses, in their anaphora of ἴδμεν (‘we know’) in 4.1319–20, and that the subject matter of their knowledge is the events of the *Argonautica* (ἐποιχομένους χρύσεον δέρος, ‘seeking the Golden Fleece’, and ἕκαστα | ὑμετέρων καμάτων, ‘each of your labours’ etc., 1319–20).[125] They also prevent the failure not just of the expedition, but of the epic itself:

> καί νύ κεν αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπὸ ζωῆς ἐλίασθεν
> νώνυμοι καὶ ἄφαντοι ἐπιχθονίοισι δαῆναι
> ἡρώων οἱ ἄριστοι ἀνηνύστῳ ἐπ᾽ ἀέθλῳ·
>
> And there all would have departed from life,
> nameless and unknown to mortals,
> the best of heroes on a vain task. (4.1305–7)

At this point, when the Argonauts might die without fame, their task uncompleted, the Herossae appear to Jason. If they had not, not only would the ἄεθλος (‘task’) of the Argonauts have remained unachieved, but also that of the narrator. It is not just the rescue of the Argonauts, but of the *Argonautica* that the Herossae effect.[126]

Apollonius also emphasises the primary narrator’s loss of control alongside the problems of his dependence on the Muses. At 4.982ff. the narrator begins to tell and then breaks off an aetion for the name of Drepane (Corfu). This aetion is reportedly what φάτις says (4.984), but before telling it the narrator apologises to the Muses: ἵλατε Μοῦσαι, | οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐνέπω προτέρων ἔπος (‘forgive me, Muses, unwillingly I tell this story of the past’, 4.984–5). The tale is not his and he tells it

[122] Cf. Heubeck–Hoekstra 1989: 128.
[123] Beye 1982: 18 notes that at A.R. 2.701–13 ‘Apollonius so thoroughly identifies himself with Orpheus as to – so to speak – snatch the lyre from his hands and sing’. See Hunter 1993a: 149–51 for detailed discussion of the interplay of voices in that passage.
[124] Feeney 1991: 92.
[125] Cf. ὑμετέρων καμάτων (‘your labours’, 4.1776) at the end of the epic.
[126] Cf. Feeney 1991: 91–2.

'unwillingly'. So far have we moved from the autonomous, controlling narrator who confidently excluded material he wished not to incorporate (compare 1.919–21, also a 'pious' break-off) that this narrator has to narrate stories he is unwilling to tell.[127]

The final mention of the Muses in the *Argonautica* marks the complete reversal from the wish in 1.22 that they be the interpreters of the narrator's song:

> Μουσάων ὅδε μῦθος· ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὑπακουὸς ἀείδω
> Πιερίδων
>
> Of the Muses is this tale, and I sing obedient to the Pierides. (4.1381–2)

The narrator is now explicitly merely the conduit for the μῦθος ('tale') of the Muses, and he is 'obedient to the Pierides'.[128] This account is of the carrying of the *Argo* across Libya. The appeal here to the authority of the Muses strongly emphasises the failings of the narrator, his dependence on others and the illusory nature of his autonomy in the early part of the epic.[129] The question, presumably to the Muses, at 4.1387–8 seems particularly pointed in this regard:

> δύην γε μὲν ἢ καὶ ὀιζὺν
> τίς κ᾽ ἐνέποι, τὴν κεῖνοι ἀνέπλησαν μογέοντες;
>
> The misery or woe
> who could tell, which those men suffered in their toiling?

'Who could tell . . .?', the narrator asks. But he has just declared this is a μῦθος Μουσάων ('tale of the Muses'), something the Muses *have told*. Rather this question, in common with the statement of subordination to the Muse, and indeed the 'crisis' of the narrator as a whole, point us to the inability of the narrator to tell the entire Argonautic narrative. Here he avoids telling it by suggesting that no one could tell it, and in 4.1390–92 relies on exclamations to get him to Lake Tritonis.

When the narrator proclaims in a hymnic address to the Argonauts at the very end of the epic, ἤδη γὰρ ἐπὶ κλυτὰ πείραθ᾽ ἱκάνω | ὑμετέρων καμάτων ('for now I have come to the glorious finish of your labours', 4.1775–6), explaining that no ἄεθλος ('task', 'trial') befell the Argonauts as

[127] Cf. Clare 2002: 266–7. [128] Cf. Clare 2002: 266–7.

[129] Cf. Feeney 1991: 92, who suggests that the attempt to authenticate this fiction through an appeal to the all-knowing Muses is, after the 'poet's earlier self-generating authority', a sure way of undermining it.

they sailed from Aegina to Thessaly, it seems clear that we have come not only to the end of ὑμετέρων καμάτων ('your labours'), but also of ἡμετέρων καμάτων ('my labours').[130] The narrator of the *Argonautica* began with unprecedented confidence, declaring his autonomy from the Muses, but by book 4 was reduced to complete obedience to the Muses, even attempting to hand over his narration to them. The labours of the *Argonautica* have been as much his as the Argonauts'.[131] But just as no ἄεθλος befell his heroes, none troubles the narrator in the last few lines.

OVERVIEW

One very clear and important pattern in the *Argonautica* is the assimilation of the narrator's experience to the characters'.[132] In general we should relate this to the 'mainstream critical topos'[133] that the poet's narrative reflects the Argonautic voyage.[134] We can also see the ongoing parallel narrative about the decline in the narrator's story-telling abilities (his 'crisis') in these terms.

The narrator often feels emotions analogous to those of the characters and in various ways their situation often reflects his.[135] Characters acting as secondary narrators replicate various characteristics of the style of the primary narrator: Phineus' prophecy in book 2 has a distinctly scholarly character, displaying detailed geographical (2.360ff.) and ethnographical knowledge (2.373ff. on the Amazons, the Chalybes and the Mossynoeci), matters which also attract comment from the primary narrator (2.996ff.).

[130] Note also the acceleration by the narrator at the end of the epic from Aegina to Pagasae, which contrasts sharply with the delays in *Argonautica* 1–2 (Wray 2000: 241–3, 247–55). See also Theodorakopoulos 1998 on the problems of closure set up by the end of the epic.

[131] In the first-person singular ἱκάνω we might discern some irony, given the stress in book 4 on the dependence of the narrator on the Muses to narrate the story, and indeed save the Argonauts from ruin. But Albis 1996: 119 posits a return of narratorial confidence here. Any confidence there is, however, is the confidence of an exhausted sailor as he enters the harbour at home, relieved that his travails are over.

[132] Compare the sexually ambiguous narrator and similarly ambiguous characters in Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena*.

[133] Spentzou 2002: 5.

[134] Cf., e.g., Beye 1982: 14, Goldhill 1991a: 287, Albis 1996: ch. 3, Wray 2000: 240–7, Clare 2002, esp. 261–85.

[135] This is not, as Albis 1996: 27 argues, 'one effect of powerful inspiration' along the lines of the 'chain of possession' in Plato's *Ion*, where the poet 'enthusiastically' takes on the characters' experiences. The Platonic conception of inspiration is peculiar, and very different from that in epic (Murray 1981: 87–9), and in particular the *Argonautica* as Albis almost admits: 'These [*Arg.* 1.18–22] might seem not to be the words of a possessed bard, but, rather, those of a literary poet who has done his research, and is taking the credit for the version of the myth that follows; hence the emphatic use of the personal pronoun ἐγώ.' (1996: 37).

Phineus breaks off a narrative in similar fashion to the primary narrator at 2.390–1 (cf. 1.649), and uses θέμις ('right') as an excuse to omit material (2.311ff., cf. 1.921).[136] Argos too appears scholarly, relating important information about the rivers of Europe (4.282ff.), building from an explicitly written source (the inscribed pillars in Colchis). Aeetes (3.314, 401) and Jason (3.493–4, 1096ff.) employ break-offs and carefully exclude irrelevant details. The characters even narrate secondary *Argonauticas* within that of the primary narrator: Jason tells Lycus all of their adventures to that point (2.762–71), even including a Catalogue of Argonauts. Medea gives Circe a Colchian *Argonautica* at 4.731ff.[137]

Most important in terms of the complex narrative about the narrator himself is the fact that this reflects the characters' own struggles. The first indication of the narrator's loss of confidence comes at one of the darkest hours for the Argonauts – the double death of Tiphys and Idmon in book 2. The strongly parallel scene in book 4, where Mopsus and Canthus die (vv. 1485ff.), confirms the close relationship between narratorial and Argonautic travails. In both cases a seer (Idmon, Mopsus) is killed by an animal (boar, snake), a second Argonaut also dies (Tiphys, Canthus), the Argonauts' problems are associated with the ship (no helmsman, no way out of Tritonis), and are resolved by the action of a god (Hera, Triton).[138] In both cases the Argonauts seem helpless – at 2.858–64 they are seized by ἀμηχανίη ('helplessness'), at 4.1538–40 they wander aimlessly, 'without a plan' (οὔ τινα μῆτιν | . . . ἔχον, vv. 1538–9). In book 2 the narrator reflects Argonautic despair through his uncertainty about what he should include in his narrative and his subordination to the Muses, in book 4 he is not sure whether θέμις should prevent him mentioning that even Παιήων ('Paean') finds it difficult to cure snakebites: εἴ μοι θέμις ἀμφαδὸν εἰπεῖν ('if it is right for me to speak openly', 4.1511).[139]

The move from autonomy to dependence which characterises the narrator's loss of confidence is apparent in a number of places in the epic. The two episodes of the Symplegades (2.549–610) and the Planctae (4.922–64) mark a clear change from a triumph of human skill, particularly that of Tiphys, to a complete dependence of the Argonauts on the gods.[140]

[136] See also pp. 293–4 above.
[137] See further Clare 2002: 273–80 on these affinities between the primary narrator and his secondary narrators.
[138] On the parallelism between the two situations cf. Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 123.
[139] At 1.919–21 θέμις had been confidently given as the narrator's reason for remaining silent about the Samothracian rites.
[140] Cf. Byre 1991: 223–4, Albis 1996: 113.

Euphemus, who releases the dove to fly through the rocks (v. 562), and encourages the Argonauts (2.588–9), and Tiphys, who is in overall command (vv. 556–7), are key elements in the passage through the Symplegades. This is in sharp contrast to the Argonauts' passing through the Planctae, where their success is entirely the result of the help of Thetis and the Nereids, the latter passing the ship from one to another as if playing with a ball (4.948–54).

The Argonauts' dependence on females in the latter passage echoes the narrator's opening independence from, and subsequent subordination to, the Muses. Jason too conforms to this pattern. He pointedly abandons women at the beginning of the epic (e.g. his mother, whom he instructs not to embarrass him by the ship, 1.303–5; and Iphias, priestess of Artemis, ἡ μὲν λίπετ' αὖθι παρακλιδόν, . . . | . . ., ὁ δὲ πολλὸν ἀποπλαγχθεὶς ἐλιάσθη, 'she was left there to one side, . . . and he moved on going far away', 1.315–16). Eventually, of course, he comes to depend on the assistance of Medea in the second half of the epic. She engineers his success and joins the male preserve of the *Argo* in book 4, as do the Phaeacian handmaidens Arete gives her (4.1221–2).

The parallels between Jason and the Apollonian narrator are deeper still. Spentzou, for example, characterises Jason, whose liking for words is clear (3.188–90), as a hero who 'wants to be a poet and plot t/his epic as seems best',[141] and Medea as his Muse, possessing the knowledge he requires (the drugs to protect him during Aeetes' trials) to complete the epic as he desires.[142] The dependence of Jason and the Argonauts on the female – νόστον ἐπετραπόμεσθα γυναιξίν ('we have entrusted our return to women')[143] – coincides with the primary narrator's dependence on Erato in books 3 and 4.[144]

There is a striking parallel for this in Pindar's *Pythian* 4, where Jason is also a narrator:

[141] Spentzou 2002: 97.

[142] There are several passages explicitly depicting Medea as Muse, e.g.: τόφρα δὲ Μηδείης ὑποθημοσύνῃσιν Ἰήσων | φάρμακα μυδήνας ἠμὲν σάκος ἀμφεπάλυνεν ('while under Medea's directions Jason wet the drugs and sprinkled his shield', 3.1246–7) as Jason prepares; αὐτὰρ Ἰήσων | μνήσατο Μηδείης πολυκερδέος ἐννεσιάων ('but Jason remembered the promptings of crafty Medea', 3.1363–4) as Jason fights the Earthborn warriors. This subordination to female knowledge is very reminiscent of the normal poet–Muse relationship.

[143] A.R. 3.488 – principally Medea, but as Albis 1996: 109–11 notes Jason (μυθήσομαι, 'I shall tell', 4.1335) acts as a 'poet' and intermediary, deriving his knowledge from the goddesses and passing it on to the mortal Argonauts. To this example should be added Orpheus, who asks for knowledge from the Muse-like Hesperides (of whom there are three, recalling the Graces, companions of the Muses) at 4.1411ff.

[144] So Spentzou 2002: 108–9.

ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἕκτᾳ πάντα λόγον θέμενος σπουδαῖον ἐξ ἀρχᾶς ἀνήρ
συγγενέσιν παρεκοινᾶθ᾽·

But on the sixth day the man laying out the whole story seriously from the start shared it with his kinsfolk. (vv. 132–3)

At *P.* 4.217 he is described as σοφός ('wise') and knowledgeable in ἐπαοιδαί ('spells'), words strongly reminiscent of poetic skill.[145] Medea, as O'Higgins ably demonstrates, is clearly Muse-like in *Pythian* 4.[146] She engages in a hymnic/prophetic exchange with Apollo and the Pythia at the beginning of the poem (*P.* 4.1–69) and Pindar describes her having 'breathed out' her words from her divine mouth (ἀπέπνευσ᾽ ἀθανάτου στόματος, *P.* 4.11). This recalls the inspirational breath of the Hesiodic Muses (*Th.* 31–2) and the Muse-like Sirens, alone described by the phrase ἀπὸ στομάτων ('from their mouths') in the *Odyssey*.[147]

In *Pythian* 4 Medea takes up a prominent position as the (secondary) narrator of the first part of the poem (vv. 13–56). But her narrative is subsumed and controlled by the primary narrator's, who explicitly begins the narrative again at vv. 70–1, just as Medea in her capacity as a character is controlled by Jason (with Aphrodite's help: λιτάς τ᾽ ἐπαοιδὰς ἐκδιδάσκησεν σοφὸν Αἰσονίδαν | ὄφρα Μηδείας τοκέων ἀφέλοιτ᾽ αἰδῶ, ποθεινὰ δ᾽ Ἑλλὰς αὐτάν | ἐν φρασὶ καιομέναν δονέοι μάστιγι Πειθοῦς, 'she taught Aeson's son to be wise in both prayers and spells so that he could remove Medea's respect for her parents, and desired Greece might drive her burning in her mind with the whip of Peitho', vv. 217–19).[148] In the *Argonautica*, however, there is another reversal – the narrator surrenders his initial control to the Muses in book 4, and the epic is impossible to read without recalling the future events of Euripides' *Medea*,[149] which demonstrate the 'untameability' of Medea.[150]

The relationship of the portrayal of the narrator's declining self-confidence in Apollonius to Archaic poetry is therefore complex. The *Argonautica* reverses various Archaic patterns, not least the depiction of the narrator overcoming difficulties to achieve success. Furthermore, the depiction of the narrator's struggles in the *Argonautica* inscribes within the epic a model of the process of composition which also seems to develop and transform Archaic models (i.e. the fiction of spontaneous oral composition in many Archaic poems).

[145] See Albis 1996: 89. [146] Cf. O'Higgins 1997: 112–16.
[147] Cf. O'Higgins 1997: 114. [148] Cf. O'Higgins 1997: 119–20.
[149] See, e.g., Hunter 1989: 18–19. [150] Cf. Spentzou 2002: 115–16.

Most prominently in Pindar's epinicians we find the narrator depicted undergoing πόνος ('toil') to achieve success. Pindar often describes this in terms of athletic endeavour (e.g. *N.* 4.36–8), which parallels the pattern of effort followed by victory of the patrons of the epinician poems. The narrator can even describe himself as going on a sea-journey where misadventure and digressions are clearly possible (e.g. *P.* 10.51–4). But in Pindar, as in Archaic poetry in general, the narrator overcomes any such dangers, which function as a foil to stress the skill of narrator (and therefore author) in overcoming them.

In Apollonius, however, the narrator's dependence on others is greatest at the end of the epic. The initial confidence gives way to subordination and self-doubt. Such a prominent reversal of the Pindaric pattern may be connected with the status of the poet in Hellenistic poetry and the concern to experiment with voice. But it also provides the audience with an image of the kinds of difficulties which an author must endure in the composition of an epic, and the process of composing that epic.

The 'crisis' of the narrator depicts a narrator losing confidence in his own ability to tell his story, but simultaneously depicts a narrator trying various different means to reach the conclusion of his narrative (including complete subordination to the Muses). This reflects the Argonauts' own use of whatever means there are at their disposal (women, treacherous murder, expiation) to succeed in their quest. We can also take it as reflecting the (real) author's endeavours to create the poem of which the Argonautic narrative and the narrator's crisis are both parts. We should set self-doubt about narrative ability alongside the presentation of alternative aetia and the inclusion of rejected material as pointing the audience to the ways in which the poem might have been put together.[151]

The process of composition which is so inscribed is not, however, a record of how the *Argonautica* was actually composed, nor does it tell us anything about the difficulties Apollonius actually faced. It is rather a *model* of composition which is written into the *Argonautica*. Although there is no explicit mention of writing as being among the Apollonian narrator's sources, the epic does not construct as explicit an oral setting for itself as, for example, Callimachus' *Iambi*, nor develop a fiction of extempore composition in the manner of some Archaic poems. The epic depicts its narrator as a scholar (see above), constructing his narrative from a variety of sources, selecting between alternative explanations of features of the contemporary landscape, and the reader's natural conclusion when

[151] Cf. Fusillo 1985: 385.

reading such a text is to discern other written texts as the ultimate sources for much of the narrator's story.[152] The decline in the narrator's self-confidence in his story-telling abilities is not that of a poet in performance,[153] but of a narrator uncertain whether he can recover the narrative from the distant past, and complete the writing of the epic.

[152] Cf. Cuypers 2004: 56–7. [153] See, however, Albis 1996: 10.

CHAPTER 6

Contexts and conclusions

A large proportion of the Hellenistic texts we have looked at engage with major features of the narratorial voices of Archaic poetry. Callimachus' *Hymns* and Apollonius' *Argonautica*, for example, both experiment with Archaic moralising. Hellenistic poets take up and transform these features to create effects and narratorial personas which are often very different from their Archaic models. The *Argonautica* portrays its narrator as concerned about the propriety of his narrative,[1] as are the narrators of the *Works and Days* or *Olympian* 1, but this is part of a coordinated portrayal of a narrator undergoing a progressive decline in self-confidence and autonomy, eventually unable to exclude inappropriate material from his own narrative.[2] This use of a prominent narrator reminiscent of the narrators of Archaic didactic, monody, *iambos* and Pindaric epinician underlines the importance of texts other than Homer and genres other than hexameter epic, at least as models to adapt and exploit, in the Hellenistic period.

Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius engage with such Archaic texts at a variety of levels. Certain Hellenistic poems are clearly related to particular Archaic texts which they vary and adapt. Theocritus' *Idyll* 24 transforms into a domesticated 'epic' the pacy, selective narrative of *Nemean* 1.[3] Theocritus reduces the variation of narrative pace in the Pindaric poem, and also the prominence of the narrator, to create a poem with a much more 'epic' veneer than its Archaic model, but also one which juxtaposes internal and external audiences in a very 'Hellenistic' manner. Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* alludes to Pindar's *Pythian* 5 in language and setting, and plays with the question of the speaker in Pindaric epinicians.[4] It may even suggest a blood relationship between Battiad Cyrenean and Aegid Theban poets. Alongside such close textual allusion

[1] Cf. pp. 282–6 above. [2] Cf. pp. 301–2 above.
[3] Cf. pp. 223–9 above. [4] Cf. pp. 130–3 above.

we should place small-scale developments of Archaic features such as the concretising of Archaic imagery, motifs and *topoi* which we regularly find in the Hellenistic poets. Hellenistic poetry develops generalised pictures of the 'poet under attack' in Archaic poetry (e.g. the end of *Olympian* 2), overcoming the dangers of Φθόνος ('envy') and κόρος ('tedium'), into more sharply defined scenes of criticism with named detractors, such as the Telchines in the *Aetia* prologue or the personified Φθόνος ('Envy') of the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*.[5] More specific elements of Archaic poems undergo a similar process of literal interpretation – a Hesiodic *gnome* about an evil neighbour becomes a neighbour (Erysichthon) who really is a threat to one's cattle.[6] Eros, whose ἀστραγάλαι ('knucklebones') are madness and uproar in Anacreon (*PMG* 398), we find playing with golden knucklebones with Ganymede in Apollonius (A.R. 3.114ff.).[7]

Hellenistic poetry also adopts particular techniques of Archaic narrative. The primary narrator in the *Argonautica* regularly uses the break-off, familiar from a variety of authors such as Hesiod, Semonides and Pindar,[8] which also appears in Callimachus in the *Aetia* (frr. 24.20, 75.4ff. Pf., *SH* 264) and in the scene at the end of the *Hymn to Apollo*.[9] Hellenistic poets also employ techniques associated with particular poets, such as the Pindaric self-apostrophe at the beginning of *H.* 4,[10] or the Pindaric 'pious' rejection of myth in Callimachus at *H.* 1.60ff. and fr. 75.4ff. Pf.,[11] which Apollonius likewise adapts at 4.982ff., the apology for one etymology of the name of Drepane.[12] The narrator of the *Argonautica* also takes up Bacchylidean pathetic exclamation.[13] It remains difficult, however, to associate the use of a particular device with the influence of a particular author because of the large amount of Archaic material lost.

More important are the broader patterns of the adaptation of striking characteristics of Archaic narrative and narrators, and the effects produced in Archaic poetry, which demonstrate the importance of Archaic poetry as a model in the Hellenistic period, and the continuing importance of poetic voice.

The play with the identity of the narrator in Hellenistic poems such as Theocritus' *Idyll* 7 or Callimachus' *H.* 5 develops the prominent use of the gap between narrator and author in Archaic non-epic poetry. The much greater use of quasi-biography in Archaic poetry outside epic,[14] the clear

[5] Cf. pp. 178–82 above. [6] Cf. pp. 176–8 above. [7] Cf. Hunter 1989: 109.
[8] Cf. pp. 68–70 above. [9] Cf. pp. 192 and 133–7 above.
[10] Cf. pp. 150–1 above. [11] Cf. Fuhrer 1988 and pp. 120–2 and 192–3 above.
[12] Cf. pp. 304–5 above. [13] Cf. pp. 284–6 above. [14] Cf. pp. 48–55 above.

non-identity between narrator and author in some Archaic poems (e.g. Alcaeus fr. 10 V., Archil. fr. 19 W.), and the construction of a narratorial persona based on the historical author in several Archaic poets (e.g. Archilochus, Hesiod, Pindar)[15], are harnessed to create a careful ambiguity about certain Hellenistic narrators, e.g. in *Idyll* 7.[16] Certain quasi-biographical facts recall facts about the historical author's life (e.g. the addressee of the narrator's inset song (Aratus) in *Idyll* 7), others are explicitly different (e.g. the narrator's name in *Idyll* 7).

Several Hellenistic poems such as the *Aetia*, various of the *Iambi*, Theocritus' *Idylls* 11, 13, 28 take up the frequent close relationship between narrator and author in Archaic poetry. Such poems build on the use of quasi-biography in Archaic poems to construct a picture of the narrator strongly recalling that of the historical author. Often the particular devices which certain Hellenistic poems employ recall Archaic models, such as the unifying, quasi-biographical addressee Nicias in *Idylls* 11, 13 and 28 (compare Cyrnus in Theognis). The depiction of narrators close to their historical authors has a number of purposes, including ironising the narrator, pointing to the difference between narrator and author, providing a fictional delegate within the text, and as part of the creation of a pseudo-intimate effect.

Many Hellenistic poems, such as the majority of Callimachus' *Iambi*, present a narrator close to the historical author ironically. It seems likely that *Iamb*. 6, for example, alludes to Callimachus' apparent dislike of travel in the comically incompetent *propemptikon*, which seems unconcerned with its addressee's safety,[17] and which consists principally of a list of the measurements of Zeus' statue at Elis, a disappointing guidebook. The distortions of biographical facts about the author in such poems have a probable model in Archaic *iambos*,[18] where the narrator may well have strongly recalled the historical author, though presented in more outrageous and amusing narratives, which often produced humour at the narrator's expense.[19] Hence such Hellenistic poems reproduce even the situation of self-irony.

The fact that the narrator is often closely modelled on the historical author, but still distinct, is important in several Hellenistic poems. A narrator who resembles the author, but is still explicitly marked as different, can be used to foreground, but also evade, problems of poetic authority and status. In *Idyll* 7 the primary narrator Simichidas recalls

[15] Cf. pp. 57–68 above. [16] Cf. pp. 258–9 above. [17] Cf. pp. 208, 214 above.
[18] Though perhaps not Hipponax – cf. pp. 59–60 above. [19] Cf. pp. 49–50 above.

Theocritus, but his name, the setting of the poem, the echoes of *iambos* and the ambiguity about Lycidas point to the ultimate non-identity of narrator and author.[20] Hence we can read the ironic presentation of Simichidas, the uncertain attitude of Lycidas and the uncertain meaning of the meeting between the two as referring to contemporary questions about how to authorise poetic narrative, and how new poets might attain a status similar to that of their predecessors, without associating these doubts directly with Theocritus and his own narrative. The author has a delegate within the text, to whom concerns about authority and status are deflected.

Hellenistic poetry also adapts the wide variety of Archaic models for the relationship between narrator and Muse as part of the widespread ironising of the narrator,[21] and the depiction of problems of poetic authority (of which the ironising of the narrator is itself a marker). In the *Argonautica*, for example, the narrator begins as independent and self-motivated, requiring only incidental assistance from the Muses, which recalls the peripheral role of the Muses in Archaic poetry where the narrator could claim autopsy of the events being described.[22] The *Argonautica* reverses this, of course, by depicting a self-motivated autonomous narrator where the subject matter is explicitly mythological. Such a narrative about the distant mythic past would usually have required the inspiration of the Muses in Archaic poetry.[23]

The *Argonautica* further portrays the narrator as undergoing a gradual decline from this initial independence from the Muses, utilising a number of Archaic models to effect this (the narrator's 'crisis'). The motivation for the narrator's concern with the propriety of his narrative, which recalls Archaic moralising narrators, is very different in book 1 from book 4 – the confidence with which the narrator excludes inappropriate material has disappeared by the time the narrator includes a narrative about Drepane which he tells 'unwillingly' (4.982ff.). The relationship with the Muses progresses from independence, or at least superiority, through a Pindaric partnership with Erato at the beginning of book 3, to complete subordination to the Muse (reminiscent of Homer) in book 4.[24]

The use of Archaic models in the *Argonautica* illustrates the differences between the poetry of the Hellenistic and Archaic periods. There is a Pindaric precedent of a sort for the narrator's struggles embodying those of the Apollonian narrator's characters – Pindaric epinicians often describe the efforts of the narrator in terms which recall the labours of the victor.[25]

[20] Cf. pp. 258–9 and 265–9 above. [21] Cf. pp. 73–90 above. [22] Cf. pp. 78–9 above.
[23] Cf. pp. 73–8 above. [24] Cf. pp. 295–306 above. [25] Cf. pp. 310–11 above.

But they do not present this as the gradual decline of the narrator's own abilities to tell his story. The narrator is not closely associated with the author in the *Argonautica*, and we cannot read the struggles of the narrator as the author's own decay from autonomy to subordination. However, though there are some very few references to an external life of the narrator in the *Argonautica*, the depiction of the narrator's 'crisis' throughout the epic is in one sense the most novel Hellenistic adaptation of quasi-biography. There is a strong sense of the narrator's presence, and his development, despite the absence of a name, a city, a physical description. The narrator's ability to narrate takes centre stage.

The mimetic hymns of Callimachus and the monologues of Theocritus are closely related and develop the striking Archaic effects of pseudo-intimacy and pseudo-spontaneity.[26] The inclusion into a group which ostensibly 'private' references to named individuals, their loves, desires etc. bring about in Sappho, or similarly the particular circumstances surrounding a victory, and the victor's ancestry in Pindar, is a vital component in the assurance of the fame which Archaic poets promise themselves (Sappho fr. 55V.) or their patrons (e.g. B. 9.81–2). This is achieved through reperformance.[27] The transportation of the audience to a different setting on such reperformances to secondary audiences is closely paralleled by Hellenistic poems such as Theocritus' *Idyll* 2 or Callimachus' *H.* 2, which take the audience to the performance of (respectively) private and public rituals.[28] The sense of an ongoing development of such a scene adapts the pseudo-spontaneity evoked by Archaic poems which portray the beginning of a song that has already started (e.g. B. fr. 20B), or which pretend that they are still being composed, and their course decided, despite being carefully constructed in advance (e.g. *P.* 11.38–40).[29]

Many Hellenistic poems also adapt Archaic pseudo-spontaneity to include a picture of the composition of the poem. This can be pseudo-oral, as in Callimachus' *Iambi*, where Hipponax, narrator of *Iamb.* 1, is portrayed as reacting to the audience (vv. 32–5).[30] This closely resembles the pseudo-spontaneity of Archaic poems which pretend that they are still being composed extempore, but it also marks the difference between, for example, Archaic and Hellenistic *iambos*. This is not simply because the latter was encountered as *text*, in contrast to the original oral reception of the former (Hellenistic *iambos* might have been performed, e.g. recited), but because the complex contexts in which Archaic *iambos* was originally

[26] Cf. pp. 109–15 and 245–7 above. [27] Cf. pp. 42–5 above.
[28] Cf. pp. 248 and 123–30 above. [29] Cf. pp. 68–72 above. [30] Cf. pp. 215–18 above.

performed had disappeared. Nevertheless, the affinities between the effects produced in both model and adaptation should also alert us to the continuity involved. A change in the contexts for poetry has not led to a complete rupture.

The process of composition which Hellenistic poems include can also be of writing – the narrator of the *Argonautica* comes across as a scholar carefully constructing his narrative from pre-existing sources, which are eventually to include the Muses.[31] Theocritus' *Idyll* 18 appears to record a Hellenistic encounter with a text from the distant past, and exploits the differences in the hypothetical audiences of ancient and contemporary texts.

The effect of pseudo-intimacy and the sense of inclusion it gives an audience or reader is vital for the understanding of Hellenistic poetry and the function of its allusiveness. It is clear that the Hellenistic poets we have been considering include several references and periphrases which they mean to be decoded. We often find topical and 'private' references, which these poets portray as intelligible to those within the group.[32] They regularly use the quasi-biographical information which fills out the persona of a narrator, or connects him with the historical author, in this way. The audience gets the sense of being in close contact with the actual author of the narrative which they are hearing or reading. Narratorial erudition is often used as part of the creation of this feeling of association, as when it suggests that the narrator is a scholar, recalling the historical author, or when it comes as part of the careful construction of literary echoes (e.g. in the *Hecale*) which 'include' the audience. This brings those who see the allusions further 'within the group'.

This inclusiveness, which we find in Callimachus in the scene of the 'poet under attack' from the Telchines in the *Aetia* prologue, or the periphrases at the beginning of the *Victoria Berenices*,[33] we should contrast, as Schmitz does,[34] with the 'unremitting tenebrosities of Lycophron'.[35] The sheer length of the *Alexandra*, and its unremitting nature, obscure periphrasis after obscure periphrasis, produce a very different effect from the references and allusions in Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius.

From the above survey we can see that Homer and Hesiod are not the exclusive or preferred models (though they are obviously still extremely important) for the construction of primary narrators in Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius. In such a central aspect as narratorial voice

[31] Cf. pp. 273–80 above. [32] Cf. pp. 245–8 above. [33] Cf. pp. 189–91 above.
[34] Schmitz 1999: 170. [35] Hutchinson 1988: 6.

there is a wide range of influential texts and genres, including Archaic *iambos*, elegy, choral and personal monodic lyric, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, the *Works and Days* and the *Theogony*. The features of these Archaic texts which the Hellenistic poets adapt show considerable overlap, and we should probably see this in terms of broader developments such as an awareness of the mass of pre-existing literature, the consequent problems concerning the position and status of the poet and the poetic voice, as well as of obvious considerations such as chronological, geographical and personal contact and contiguity.

There are some differences between the narratorial voices of poems in the same genre, such as the *Hecale* and the *Argonautica* where the narrators are at opposite ends of the spectrum of narrator-prominence in Hellenistic poetry. Such differences we should refer to the personal aesthetic choice of the different poets. But the broader similarities in the adaptation of Archaic narrative voices and the similar concerns we find in the three poets in this study (e.g. with the authority of narrator and poet, ironic presentation of narrators etc.) lead one to suspect common literary-critical ground.

There is no clear pattern of metrical affinity between Hellenistic poems and their adaptation of Archaic narrators. This is clear from, for example, Callimachus' lyric poems, which show no more similarity to Archaic lyric narrators (already a wide range) than Callimachus' other poems. In some cases, however, there is clearer generic affinity between Hellenistic poem and Archaic voice, e.g. in the *Hecale* and its very Homeric, unprominent narrator.[36] But the best illustration of the breadth of Archaic genres which a single text can adapt is perhaps Callimachus' *Hymns*. The variety of influencing genres there is clear (and probably meant to be clear) from the opening questions of the *Hymn to Zeus*, which immediately signal its difference from its most obvious metrical and generic model, the *Homeric Hymns*.[37]

This brings us back to the question of genre. We are now in a position to make some conclusions about the potential relationship between Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius, and the anti-genre theories of the Hellenistic critic Heracleodorus.[38] Richard Janko has raised the possibility of a connection between Callimachus and Lycophron on the one hand and Heracleodorus' stance on the acceptability of obscurity and the mixture of generic diction, style and content (based on Heracleodorus'

[36] Cf. p. 191 n. 471 above. [37] Cf. pp. 115–19 above.

[38] See Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 449–61 in general on the relationship between Hellenistic poetry and the literary criticism contained in Philodemus.

view that the aesthetic value of poetry resides in its sound) on the other.[39] It is clear, however, from the operation of topical references in Callimachus as an *inclusive* strategy which depends for its success on the decoding of references and allusions by the audience that Callimachus does not privilege sound over sense by being 'obscure'. Several Callimachean passages are, of course, learned, allusive and occasionally perplexing. Not, however, to the point of unintelligibility. They invite decoding, hence including the audience.[40] This is the opposite effect to that created by the mass of obscure periphrases of the *Alexandra*. We might justifiably describe that poem as an antecedent to the views of Heracleodorus.[41] But not Callimachus.

Janko further connects Heracleodorus with Callimachean 'mixing of genres', which he takes Callimachus to be defending himself against in *Iamb*. 13.[42] But the charge of *polyeideia* (cf. *Dieg*. IX.34), to which the Callimachean narrator portrays himself as responding, is clearly one of 'writing in many genres' not 'mixing genres'. Hence the example of Ion of Chios (*Dieg*. IX.35–6), writer of tragedies, comedies, dithyrambs, lyrics, paeans, hymns, encomia, elegies, epigrams, scolia, prose,[43] a good parallel for the breadth of Callimachean production (epic, elegy, epigram, hymns, epinicians, scholarly prose, iambics, lyrics, as well as tragedies, comedies, satyr plays according to *Suda* K 227.24–5 Adler), and the analogy with the craftsman (ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν τέκτονά τις μέμφεται πολυειδῆ σκεύη τεκταινόμενον, 'no one criticises a craftsman for making varying forms of tools', *Dieg*. IX.37–8).[44] The point is that one does not criticise a craftsman for making several different utensils of different kinds (e.g. a knife, a corkscrew, scissors), corresponding to different poems in different genres. The reference is not to some ancient forerunner of the Swiss army knife.

The example of Heracleodorus is instructive because it helps us see precisely what Hellenistic 'crossing of genres', at least as practised by Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius, is not.[45] It is not the indiscriminate combination of diction, metre and content directed only towards the

[39] See Janko 2000: 164. [40] Cf. pp. 189–91 above.

[41] It has been suggested that the *Alexandra* is not by Lycophron but by pseudo-Lycophron (cf. Fraser 1979, Fraser in *OCD*[3] s.v. 'Lycophron'), writing later than the third century BC. Could it not be inspired by Heracleodorus' euphonist doctrines? Could it parody such views? The traditional obscurity of oracles will, of course, also have been important. See in general on the *Alexandra* Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 437–43.

[42] Cf. Janko 2000: 164 n. 3. [43] Cf. Jacoby 1947: 4–7.

[44] Cf. Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 459–60. [45] Cf. pp. 18–22 above.

production of pleasing sounds.[46] It does not imply the collapse of generic distinctions, nor their abandonment (it depends on a recognition of the validity of such distinctions). Callimachus, for example, does 'mix' generic diction, but not indiscriminately. We find several words from Attic Old Comedy in the *Hecale* (e.g. ἀσκάντης, 'couch', fr. 29 H.). But here again this is not indiscriminate mixing – the poem is of course set in Attica, hence an admixture of Attic vocabulary, as represented in an Attic genre, one might think a neat way of revealing the location of the poem.[47] The mixture is connected to one aspect of the content of the poem, its setting, not its 'euphony'.

The conception of generic distinctions as valid, the avoidance of the sort of generic anarchy which Heracleodorus' position implies, is also clear in Theocritus and Apollonius. There too there is generic experimentation,[48] but this is not such as to destroy the generic categories involved. The *Argonautica* adopts several features of the narrator's voice more familiar from non-epic Archaic poetry (e.g. the explicit moralising), and echoes hymnal expressions at its beginning, but still remains an epic.

We should place these conclusions about the role of genre in the poetics of Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius alongside the fact that Callimachus' aesthetics are clearly not 'anti-Aristotelian', as the Aristotelian plot of the *Hecale*, a unified epic, demonstrates. We might discern some measure of literary-critical variation between Callimachus and Apollonius given the comparative lack of a unified Aristotelian plot in the *Argonautica*, and the much greater prominence of the narrator, which one could see as a deliberate variation from Aristotle's approved model, Homer. We cannot however, I believe, check such variation in a straightforward manner against the 'programmatic' passages of Hellenistic poetry which I have argued have specific context-related functions which mitigate against their interpretation as chapters in a Hellenistic literary-critical manifesto (even where they tend to privilege certain qualities such as exclusiveness). The adaptation of Archaic narrative voices in the three Hellenistic poets we have been considering suggests relative literary-critical unanimity amongst them. But certainty is impossible. It may well be that the greater prominence of the narrator in the *Argonautica* reflects the relative chronology of Callimachus and Apollonius, with the influence of

[46] Although it is still possible that later critics elaborated theories about the irrelevance of genre under the influence of poetry which combined distinct earlier types of poem (but whose poets did not themselves consider genre an irrelevance). Cf. Janko 2000: 279, Fantuzzi–Hunter 2004: 460–1.

[47] So Cameron 1995: 443–4.

[48] E.g. the 'translation' of lyric song types into hexameters or elegiacs – cf. pp. 223–39 above.

the *Aetia* and its intrusive narrator, and its adaptations of Archaic narratorial voices, making their presence felt in the *Argonautica*. Again, cross-generic influence does not mean the abandonment of genre or its rejection.

Janko comments that in the Hellenistic period 'there was a powerful movement to regain the old unity of μουσική [*mousike*], a concept which, until the later fourth century, had embraced both the tune and the words performed to it'.[49] The complex of music, dance and song which made up Archaic lyric had disappeared by the mid-third century.[50] But Hellenistic critics such as Heracleodorus and Hellenistic poets such as Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius display opposite attitudes to such Archaic poetry and its relevance for contemporary poetry. The former treat all poetry as if it were music, and subordinate sense and content to sound, while the latter engage with the manner, techniques and narrative voices of Pindar, Sappho and the rest, to display the relevance of Archaic poetry as a literary, not musical, model.

[49] Janko 2000: 190. [50] See Cameron 1995: 147–8.

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